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Simplicities,

Continuation of

History of England,

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HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM

THE REVOLUTION

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THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

Designed as a Continuation of Mr. Hume's History.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

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FROM THE REVOLUTION

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(1689.) § I. THE constitution of England had now affumed a new affect. The maxim of hereditary, indefeasible right was at length renounced by a free parliament. The power of the crown was acknowledged to flow from no other fountain than that of a contract with the people. Allegiance and protection

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WILLIAM III.



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were declared reciprocal ties depending upon each other. The representatives of the nation made a regular claim of rights in behalf of their conftituents; and William III. afcended the throne in confequence of an express capitulation with the people. Yet, on this occasion, the zeal of the parliament towards their deliverer feems to have overthat their attachment to their own liberty and privileges; or at least they neglected the fairest opportunity that ever occurred, to retrench those prerogatives of the crown to which they imputed all the late and former calamities of the kingdom. Their new monarch retained the old regal power over parliaments in its full extent. He was left at liberty to convoke, adjourn, prorogue, and diffolve them at his pleasure. He was able to influence elections, and oppress corporations. He possessed the right of choosing his own council; of nominating all the great officers of the flate and of the household, of the army, the navy, and the church. He referved the abfolute command of the militia: So that he remained master of all the instruments and engines of corruption and violence, without any other restraint than his own moderation, and prudent regard to the claim of rights and principle of resistance, on which the revolution was founded. In a word, the settlement was finished with fome precipitation before the plan had been properly digested and matured: And this will be the case in every establishment formed upon a sudden emergency in the face of opposition. It was observed, that the king who was made by the people, had it in his power to rule without them; to govern jure divino, though he was created jure humano . And that, though the change proceeded from a republican spirit, the settlement was built upon Tory maxims; for the execution of his government continued still independent of his commission, while his own person remained sacred and inviolable. The prince of Orange had been invited to England by a coalition of parties, united by a common sense of danger: But this tie was no fooner broken than they flew afunder, and each refumed its original bias. Their mutual jealoufy and rancour revived, and was heated by difpute into intemperate

zeal and enthusiasm. Those who at first acted from. principles of patriotism, were insensibly warmed into partifans: And king William foon found himself at the head of a faction. As he had been bred a Calvinist, and always expressed an abhorrence of spiritual persecution, the presbyterians, and other protestant diffenters, confidered him as their peculiar protector, and entered into his interests with the most zealous fervour and assiduity. For the same reasons, the friends of the church became jealous of his proceedings, and employed all their influence, first in opposing his elevation to the throne, and afterwards in thwarting his measures. Their party was espoused by all the friends of the lineal succession; by the Roman catholics; by those who were personally attached to the late king; and by fuch as were difgusted by the conduct and personal deportment of William since his arrival in England. They observed, That, contrary to his declaration, he had plainly aspired to the crown; and treated his father-in-law with infolence and rigour: That his army contained a number of foreign papifts, almost equal to that of the English Roman catholics whom James had employed: That the reports fo industriously circulated about the birth of the prince of Wales, the treaty with France for enflaving England, and the murder of the earl of Effex (reports countenanced by the prince of Orange), now appeared to be without foundation: That the Dutch troops remained in London, while the English forces were distributed in remote quarters: That the Prince declared the first should be kept about his person, and the latter sent to Ireland: That the two houses, out of complaisance to William, had denied their late fovereign the justice of being heard in his own defence; and, that the Dutch had lately interfered with the trade of London, which was already fenfibly diminished. These were the fources of discontent, swelled up by the resentment of some noblemen, and other individuals, disappointed in their hopes of profit and preferment.

§ II. William began his reign with a proclamation for confirming all protestants in the offices which they enjoyed on the first day of December: Then he chose the

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members of his council, who were generally flaunch to his interest, except the archbishop of Canterbury and the earl of Nottingham*; and these were admitted in complaifance to the church-party, which it was not thought adviseable to provoke. Nottingham and Shrewsbury were appointed fecretaries of state: The privy-feal was bestowed upon the marquis of Hallifax: The earl of Danby was created prefident of the council. These two noblemen enjoyed a good share of the king's confidence; and Nottingham was confiderable as head of the churchparty: But the chief favourite was Bentinck, first commoner on the lift of privy-counsellors, as well as groom of the stole and privy purse. D'Auverquerque was made master of the horse, Zuylestein of the robes, and Schomberg of the ordnance: The treasury, admiralty, and chancery were put in commission: Twelve able judges were chosen +; and the diocese of Salisbury being vacated by the death of Dr. Ward, the king, of his own free motion, filled it with Burnet, who had been a zealous flickler for his interest; and, in a particular manner, inftrumental in effecting the revolution. Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, refused to consecrate this ecclesiastic, though the reasons of this refusal are not specified; but, being afraid of incurring the penalties of a premunire, he granted a commission to the bishop of London, and three other fuffragans, to perform that ceremony. Burnet was a prelate of some parts, and great industry: Moderate

and the earl of Dorfet lord chamberlain. - Ralph.

^{*} The council confifted of the prince of Denmark, the archbishop of Canterbury, the duke of Norfolk, the marquisses of Hallifax and Winchester, the earls of Danby, Lindsey, Devonthire, Dorfet, Middlesex, Oxford, Shrewibury, Bedford, Bath, Macclesfield, and Nottingham; the viscounts Fauconberg, Mordaunt, Newport, Lumley; the lords Wharton, Montague, Delamere, Churchill; Mr. Bentinck, Mr. Sidney, Sir Robert Howard, Sir Henry Capel, Mr. Powle, Mr. Ruffel, Mr. Hambden, and Mr. Boscawen.

⁺ Sir John Holt was appointed lord chief justice of the king's bench, and fir Henry Pollexfen of the common pleas: The earl of Devonshire was made lord steward of the household,

in his notions of church-discipline, inquisitive, meddling, vain, and credulous. In confequence of having incurred the displeasure of the late king, he had retired to the continent, and fixed his residence in Holland, where he was naturalized, and attached himself to the interest of the prince of Orange, who confulted him about the affairs of England. He affifted in drawing up the prince's manifesto, and wrote some other papers and pamphlets in defence of his defign. He was demanded of the states, by the English ambassador, as a British fugitive, outlawed by king James, and excepted in the act of indemnity: Nevertheless, he came over with William, in quality of his chaplain; and, by his intrigues, contributed in some measure to the success of that expedition. The principal individuals that composed this ministry have been characterized in the history of the preceding reigns. We have had occasion to mention the fine talents, the vivacity, the flexibility of Hallifax; the plaufibility, the enterprising genius, the obstinacy of Danby; the pompous eloquence, the warmth, and oftentation of Nottingham; the probity and popularity of Shrewsbury. Godolphin, now brought into the treasury, was modest, filent, fagacious, and upright. Mordaunt, appointed first commissioner of that board, and afterwards created earl of Monmouth, was open, generous, and a republican in his principles. Delamere, chancellor of the exchequer, promoted in the fequel to the rank of earl of Warrington, was close and mercenary. Obsequiousness, fidelity, and attachment to his mafter, composed the character of Bentinck, whom the king raised to the dignity of earl of Portland. The English favourite, Sidney, was a man of wit and pleasure, possessed of the most engaging talents for conversation and private friendship, but rendered unfit for public business by indolence and inattention. He was ennobled, and afterwards created earl of Romney; a title which he enjoyed with feveral fucceffive posts of profit and importance. The stream of honour and preferment ran strong in favour of the Whigs; and this appearance of partiality confirmed the fuspicion and refentment of the opposite party. III. 4 .

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& III. The first resolution taken in the new council was to convert the convention into a parliament, that the new fettlement might be strengthened by a legal fanction, which was now supposed to be wanting, as the affembly had not been convoked by the king's writ of fummons. The experiment of a new election was deemed too hazardous; therefore, the council determined that the king should, by virtue of his own authority, change the convention into a parliament, by going to the house of peers with the usual state of a sovereign, and pronouncing a speech from the throne to both houses. This expedient was accordingly practifed *. He affured them he should never take any step that would diminish the good opinion they had conceived of his integrity. He told them, That Holland was in fuch a fituation as required their immediate attention and affistance: That the posture of affairs at home likewise demanded their ferious confideration: That a good fettlement was necessary, not only for the establishment of domestic peace, but also for the support of the protestant interest abroad: That the affairs of Ireland were too critically fituated to admit of the least delay in their deliberations: He therefore begged they would be speedy and effectual in concerting fuch measures as should be judged indispenfably necessary for the welfare of the nation. commons, returning to their house, immediately passed a vote of thanks to his majefty; and made an order that his speech should be taken into consideration. After the throne had been declared vacant by a small majority of the peers, those who opposed that measure had gradually withdrawn themselves from the house; so that very few remained but fuch as were devoted to the new mo-These, therefore, brought in a bill for preventing all disputes concerning the present parliament. In the mean time Mr. Hambden, in the lower house, put the question, Whether a king elected by the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons affembled at Westminster, coming to and consulting with the said lords and commons, did not make as complete a parlia-

^{*} See note [A] at the end of the volume.

ment, and legislative power and authority, as if the faid king should cause new elections to be made by writ? Many members affirmed, that the king's writ was as necessary as his presence to the being of a legal parliament; and, as the convention was defective in this particular, it could not be vefted with a parliamentary authority by any management whatfoever. The Whigs replied, That the effence of a parliament confifted in the meeting and co-operation of the king, lords, and commons; and that it was not material whether they were convoked by writ or by letter: They proved this affertion by examples deduced from the history of England: They observed, That a new election would be attended with great trouble, expence, and loss of time; and that fuch delay might prove fatal to the protestant interest of Ireland, as well as to the allies on the continent. In the midst of this debate, the bill was brought down from the lords; and being read, a committee was appointed to make some amendments. These were no sooner made than the commons fent it back to the upper house; and it immediately received the royal affent. By this act the lords and commons, affembled at Westminster, were declared the two houses of parliament to all intents and purposes: It likewise ordained, That the present act, and all other acts to which the royal affent should be given before the next prorogation, should be understood and adjudged by law to begin on the thirteenth day of February: That the members, instead of the old oaths of allegiance and supremacy, should take the new oath incorporated in this act under the ancient penalty: And, That the present parliament should be dissolved in the usual manner. Immediately after this transaction, a warm debate arose in the house of commons about the revenue, which the courtiers alleged had devolved with the crown upon William, at least, during the life of James; for which term the greater part of it had been granted. The members in the opposition affirmed, that these grants were vacated with the throne; and at length it was voted, That the revenue had expired. Then a motion was made, That a revenue should be settled on the

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the king and queen; and the house resolved it should be taken into confideration. While they deliberated on this affair, they received a message from his majesty. importing, that the late king had fet fail from Brest with an armament to invade Ireland. They forthwith resolved to assist his majesty with their lives and fortunes: They voted a temporary aid of four hundred and twenty thousand pounds, to be levied by monthly affestment; and both houses waited on the king to fignify this resolution. But this unanimity did not take place till feveral lords, spiritual as well as temporal, had, rather than take the oaths, absented themselves from parliament. The nonjuring prelates were Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury; Turner, bishop of Ely; Lake, of Chichester; Ken, of Bath and Wells; White, of Peterborough; Lloyd, of Norwich; Thomas, of Worcester; and Frampton, of Gloucester. The temporal peers who refused the oath, were the duke of Newcastle; the earls of Clarendon, Litchfield, Exeter, Yarmouth, and Stafford; the lords Griffin and Stawel. Five of the bishops withdrew themselves from the house at one time; but, before they retired, one of the number moved for a bill of toleration, and another of comprehension, by which moderate diffenters might be reconciled to the church, and admitted into ecclesiastical benefices. Such bills were actually prepared and presented by the earl of Nottingham, who received the thanks of the house for the pains he had taken. From this period the party averse to the government of William were distinguished by the appellation of Nonjurors. They rejected the notion of a king de facto, as well as all other distinctions and limitations; and declared for the absolute power, and divine hereditary indefeafible right of fovereigns.

§ IV. This faction had already begun to practife against the new government. The king, having received some intimation of their designs from intercepted letters, ordered the earl of Arran, sir Robert Hamilton, and some other gentlemen of the Scottish nation, to be apprehended and sent prisoners to the Tower. Then he

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informed the two houses of the step he had taken; and even craved their advice with regard to his conduct in fuch a delicate affair, which had compelled him to trefpass upon the laws of England. The lords thanked him for the care he took of their liberties, and defired he would fecure all disturbers of the peace: But the commons empowered him by a bill to difpense with the habeas corpus act till the seventeenth day of April next en-This was a stretch of confidence in the crown which had not been made in favour of the late king, even while Argyle and Monmouth were in open rebellion. A spirit of discontent had by this time diffused itself through the army, and become so formidable to the court, that the king refolved to retain the Dutch troops in England, and fend over to Holland in their room fuch regiments as were most tinctured with disaffection. Of these the Scottish regiment of Dumbarton, commanded by mareschal Schomberg, mutinied on its march to Ipswich, seized the military chest, disarmed the officers who opposed their defign, declared for king James, and with four pieces of cannon began their march for Scotland. William being informed of this revolt, ordered general Ginckel to purfue them with three regiments of Dutch dragoons; and the mutineers furrendered at difcre-As the delinquents were natives of Scotland, which had not yet submitted in form to the new government, the king did not think proper to punish them as rebels, but ordered them to proceed for Holland, according to his first intention. Though this attempt proved abortive, it made a strong impression upon the ministry, who were divided among themselves, and wavered in their principles. However, they used this opportunity to bring in a bill for punishing mutiny and descrition, which, in a little time, passed both houses, and received the royal affent.

§ V. The coronation-oath * being altered and explained, that ceremony was performed on the eleventh day of April, the bishop of London officiating, at the

^{*} See note [B] at the end of the volume.

the king's defire, in the room of the metropolitan, who was a malcontent; and next day the commons, in a body, waited on the king and queen at Whitehall, with an address of congratulation. William, with a view to conciliate the affection of his new subjects, and check the progress of clamour and discontent, fignified, in a folemn meffage to the house of commons, his readiness to acquiesce in any measure they should think proper to take for a new regulation or total suppression of the hearth-money, which, he understood, was a grievous imposition on the subjects: And this tax was afterwards abolithed. He was gratified with an address of thanks, couched in the warmest expressions of duty, gratitude, and affection, declaring they would take fuch measures in support of his crown, as would convince the world that he reigned in the hearts of his

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& VI. He had, in his answer to their former address, affured them of his constant regard to the rights and prosperity of the nation: He had explained the exhausted state of the Dutch; expatiated upon the zeal of that republic for the interests of Britain, as well as the maintenance of the protestant religion; and expressed his hope that the English parliament would not only repay the sums they had expended in his expedition, but likewise further support them, to the utmost of their ability, against the common enemies of their liberties and religion. He had observed that a confiderable army and fleet would be necessary for the reduction of Ireland and the protection of Britain; and he defired they would fettle the revenue in fuch a manner, that it might be collected without difficulty and dispute. The sum total of the money expended by the States-General in William's expedition, amounted to seven millions of guilders; and the commons granted fix hundred thousand pounds for the discharge of this debt, incurred for the prefervation of their rights and religion. They voted fums for raifing and maintaining an army of two-and-twenty thousand men, as well as for equipping a numerous fleet; but they provided for no more than half a year's subsistence of the troops, hoping the reduction of Ireland might be finished in that term; and this instance of frugality the king confidered as a mark of their diffidence of his administration. The Whigs were resolved to supply him gradually, that he might be the more dependent upon their zeal and attachment: But he was not at all pleased with their

precaution.

William was naturally biaffed to Calvinisin, & VII. and averse to persecution. Whatever promises he had made, and whatever fentiments of respect he had entertained for the church of England, he feemed now in a great measure alienated from it, by the opposition he had met with from its members, particularly from the bishops, who had thwarted his measures. By absenting themselves from parliament, and refusing the oath, they had plainly disowned his title, and renounced his government. He therefore resolved to mortify the church, and gratify his own friends at the same time, by removing the obstacles affixed to nonconformity, that all protestant diffenters should be rendered capable of enjoying and exercifing civil employments. When he gave his affent to the bill for suspending the habeas corpus act, he recommended the establishment of a new oath in lieu of those of allegiance and supremacy: He expressed his hope that they would leave room for the admittion of all his protestant subjects who should be found qualified for the service: He said, such a conjunction would unite them the more firmly among themselves, and strengthen them against their common adversaries. In consequence of this hint, a clause was inserted in the bill for abrogating the old and appointing the new oaths, by which the facramental test was declared unnecessary in rendering any person capable of enjoying any office or employment: It was, however, rejected by a great majority in the house of lords. Another clause for the same purgose, though in different terms, was proposed by the king's direction, and met with the same fate; though in both cases several noblemen entered a protest against the resolution of the These fruitless efforts in favour of diffenters, augmented the prejudice of the churchmen against king William; who would have willingly compromised

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the difference, by excusing the clergy from the oaths. provided the differers might be exempted from the facramental test: But this was deemed the chief bulwark of the church, and therefore the proposal was rejected. The church-party in the house of lords moved. That, instead of inserting a clause obliging the clergy to take the oaths, the king should be empowered to tender them; and in case of their refusal, they should incur the penalty, because deprivation, or the apprehensions of it, might make them desperate, and excite them to form defigns against the government. This argument had no weight with the commons, who thought it was indifpenfably necessary to exact the oaths of the clergy, as their example influenced the kingdom in general; and the youth of the nation were formed under their instructions. After a long and warm debate, all the mitigation that could be obtained, was a clause empowering the king to indulge any twelve clergymen, deprived by virtue of this act, with a third part of their benefices during pleasure. Thus the ancient oaths of allegiance and supremacy were abrogated: The declaration of nonrefistance in the act of uniformity was repealed: The new oath of allegiance was reduced to its primitive fimplicity, and the coronation oath rendered more explicit. The clergy were enjoined to take the new oaths before the first day of August, on pain of being suspended from their office for fix months; and of entire deprivation, in case they should not take them before the expiration of this term. They generally complied, though with fuch refervations and distinctions as were not much for the honour of their fincerity.

§ VIII. The king, though baffled in his defign against the sacramental test, resolved to indulge the diffenters with a toleration; and a bill for this purpose being prepared by the earl of Nottingham, was, after some debate, passed into a law, under the title of An act for exempting their majesties protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws. It enacted, That none of the penal laws should be construed to extend to those dissenters who

should take the oaths to the present government, and subscribe the declaration of the thirtieth year of the reign of Charles II. provided that they should hold no private affemblies or conventicles with the doors shut: That nothing should be construed to exempt them from the payment of tithes, or other parochial duties: That, in case of being chosen into the office of constable, churchwarden, overfeer, &c. and of scrupling to take the oaths annexed to fuch offices, they should be allowed to execute the employment by deputy: That the preachers and teachers in congregations of diffenting protestants, who should take the oaths, subscribe the declaration, together with all the articles of religion, except the thirty-fourth and the two fucceeding articles, and part of the twentieth, should be exempted from the penalties decreed against nonconformists, as well as from ferving upon juries, or acting in parish-offices: Yet all justices of the peace were empowered to require such diffenters to subscribe the declaration, and take the oaths; and, in case of refusal, to commit them to prifon, without bail or mainprize. The fame indulgence was extended to anabaptifts, and even to quakers, on their folemn promise, before God, to be faithful to the king and queen; and their affenting, by profession and affeveration, to those articles which the others ratified upon oath: They were likewise required to profess their belief in the Trinity and the holy scriptures. Even the papists felt the benign influence of William's moderation in spiritual matters: He rejected the proposal of some zealots, who exhorted him to enact fevere laws against popish recusants. Such a measure, he observed, would alienate all the papists of Europe from the interests of England, and might produce a new catholic league, which would render the war a religious quarrel: Besides, he could not pretend to screen the protestants of Hungary and Germany, while he himfelf should perfecute the catholics of England. He therefore refolved to treat them with lenity; and though they were not comprehended in the act, they enjoyed the benefit of the toleration.

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& IX. We have observed that, in consequence of the motion made by the bishops when they withdrew from parliament, a bill was brought into the house of lords for uniting their majesties protestant subjects. This was extremely agreeable to the king, who had the fcheme of comprehension very much at heart. In the progress of the bill, a warm debate arose about the posture of kneeling at the facrament; which was given up in fayour of the diffenters. Another, no less violent, ensued upon the subsequent question, "Whether there should " be an addition of laity in the commission to be given " by the king to the bishops and others of the clergy, " for preparing fuch a reformation of ecclefiaftical " affairs as might be the means of healing divisions, " and correcting whatever might be erroneous and de-" fective in the constitution." A great number of the temporal lords infifted warmly on this addition; and when it was rejected, four peers entered a formal protest. Bishop Burnet was a warm stickler for the exclusion of the laity; and, in all probability, manifested his warmth in hopes of ingratiating himfelf with his brethren, among whom his character was very far from being popular. But the merit of this facrifice was destroyed by the arguments he had used for dispensing with the posture of kneeling at the facrament; and by his proposing another proviso of the bill, that the subscribers, instead of expressing assent or consent, should only submit, with a promife of conformity.

§ X. The bill was with difficulty passed in the house of lords: But the commons treated it with neglect. By this time, a great number of malcontent members, who had retired from parliament, were returned, with a view to thwart the administration, though they could not prevent the settlement. Instead of proceeding with the bill, they presented an address to the king, thanking him for his gracious declaration, and repeated assurances, that he would maintain the church of England as by law established: A church whose doctrines and practice had evinced its loyalty beyond all contradiction. They likewise humbly besought his majesty to issue writs for

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calling a convocation of the clergy, to be confulted in ecclefiaftical matters, according to the ancient ufage of parliaments; and declared they would forthwith take into consideration proper methods of giving ease to protestant dissenters. Though the king was displeased at this address, in which the lords also had concurred, he returned a civil answer, by the mouth of the earl of Nottingham, professing his regard for the church of England, which should always be his peculiar care, recommending the diffenters to their protection, and promiling to fummon a convocation as foon as fuch a meafure should be convenient. This message produced no effect in favour of the bill, which lay neglected on the table. Those who moved for it, had no other view than that of displaying their moderation; and now they excited their friends to oppose it with all their interest. Others were afraid of espousing it, lest they should be stigmatised as enemies to the church; and a great number of the most-eminent presbyterians were averse to a scheme of comprehension, which diminished their strength, and weakened the importance of the party. Being therefore violently opposed on one hand, and but faintly supported on the other, no wonder it mis-The king, however, was fo bent upon the execution of his defign, that it was next fession revived in another form, though with no better fuccess.

§ XI. The next object that engrossed the attention of the parliament, was the settlement of a revenue for the support of the government. Hitherto there had been no distinction of what was allotted for the king's use, and what was assigned for the service of the public; so that the sovereign was entirely master of the whole supply. As the revenue in the late reigns had been often embezzled and misapplied, it was now resolved that a certain sum should be set apart for the maintenance of the king's household and the support of his dignity; and that the rest of the public money should be employed under the inspection of parliament. Accordingly, since this period, the commons have appropriated the yearly supplies to certain specified services; and an ac-

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count of the application has been constantly submitted to both houses at the next session. At this juncture the prevailing party, or the Whigs, determined that the revenue should be granted from year to year, or at least for a fmall term of years; that the king might find himfelf dependent upon the parliament, and merit the renewal of the grant by a just and popular administration. In pursuance of this maxim, when the revenue fell under confideration, they, on pretence of charges and anticipations which they had not time to examine, granted it by a provisional act for one year only. The civil list was fettled at fix hundred thousand pounds, chargeable with the appointments of the queen dowager, the prince and princess of Denmark, the judges, and mareschal Schomberg, to whom the parliament had already granted one hundred thousand pounds, in consideration of his important fervices to the nation. The commons also voted, That a constant revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds should be established for the support of the crown in time of peace.

§ XII. The king took umbrage at these restraints laid upon the application of the public money, which were the most falutary proofs of the revolution: He confidered them as marks of diffidence, by which he was diffinguished from his predecessors; and thought them an ungrateful return for the fervices he had done the The Tories perceived his difgust, and did not fail to foment his jealoufy against their adversaries, which was confirmed by a fresh effort of the Whigs, in relation to the militia. A bill was brought into the house, for regulating it in such a manner as would have rendered it in a great measure independent both of the king and the lords-lieutenants of counties. These being generally peers, the bill was fuffered to lie neglected on the table: But the attempt confirmed the suspicion of the king, who began to think himself in danger of being enflaved by a republican party. The Tories had, by the channel of Nottingham, made proffers of service to his majesty; but complained, at the same time, that as they were in danger of being profecuted for their lives

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and fortunes, they could not, without an act of indemnity, exert themselves in favour of the crown, lest they should incur a persecution from their implacable enemies.

& XIII. These remonstrances made such impression on the king, that he fent a meffage to the house by Mr. Hambden, recommending a bill of indemnity as the most effectual means for putting an end to all controversies, distinctions, and occasions of discord. He defired it might be prepared with all convenient expedition; and with fuch exceptions only as should seem necessary for the vindication of public justice, the fafety of him and his confort, and the fettlement and welfare of the na-An address of thanks to his majesty was unanimoufly voted. Nevertheless, his design was frustrated by the backwardness of the Whigs, who proceeded so flowly on the bill, that it could not be brought to maturity before the end of the fession. They wanted to keep the scourge over the heads of their enemies until they should find a proper opportunity for revenge; and, in the mean time, restrain them from opposition by the terror of impending vengeance. They affected to infinuate that the king's defign was to raise the prerogative as high as it had been in the preceding reigns; and that he, for this purpose, pressed an act of indemnity, by virtue of which he might legally use the instruments of the late tyranny. The earls of Monmouth and Warrington industriously infused these jealousies into the minds of their party. On the other hand, the earl of Nottingham inflamed William's distrust of his old friends: Both fides fucceeded in kindling an animofity, which had like to have produced confusion, notwithstanding the endeavours used by the earls of Shrewsbury and Devonshire to allay those heats, and remove the fuspicions that mutually prevailed

§ XIV It was now judged expedient to pass an act for settling the succession of the crown, according to the former resolution of the convention. A bill for this purpose was brought into the lower house, with a clause disabling papists from succeeding to the throne: To this

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the lords added, "Or fuch as should marry papists;" absolving the subject in that case from allegiance. The bishop of Salisbury, by the king's direction, proposed that the princess Sophia, duchess of Hanover, and her posterity, should be nominated in the act of succession, and the next protestant heirs, failing iffue of the king, and Anne, princefs of Denmark. These amendments gave rife to warm debates in the lower house, where they were vigorously opposed, not only by those who wished well in secret to the late king and the lineal succession, but likewise by the republican party, who hoped to fee monarchy altogether extinguished in England, by the death of the three persons already named in the bill of fuccession. The lords insisted upon their amendments; and feveral fruitless conferences were held between the At length the bill was dropt for the prefent, in consequence of an event which in a great meafure dissipated the fears of a popish successor. This was the delivery of the princess Anne, who, on the twentyfeventh day of July, brought forth a fon, christened by the name of William, and afterwards created duke of Gloucester.

XV. In the midst of these domestic disputes, William did not neglect the affairs of the continent. He retained all his former influence in Holland, as his countrymen had reason to confide in his repeated assurances of inviolable affection. The great scheme which he had projected of a confederacy against France, began at this period to take effect. The princes of the empire affem. bled in the diet, folemnly exhorted the emperor to declare war against the French king, who had committed numberless infractions of the treaties of Munster, Ofnabruck, Nimeguen, and the truce; invaded their country without provocation, and evinced himself an inveterate enemy of the holy Roman empire. They, therefore, belought his imperial majesty to conclude a treaty of peace with the Turks, who had offered advantageous terms, and proceed to an open rupture with Louis: In which case they would consider it as a war of the empire, and support their head in a most effectual man-

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The States-General published a declaration against the common enemy, taxing him with manifold infractions of the treaty of commerce: With having involved the subjects of the republic in the persecution which he had raised against the protestants: With having cajoled and infulted them with deceitful promifes and infolent threats: With having plundered and oppressed the Dutch merchants and traders in France: And finally, With having declared war against the States, without any plaufible reason affigned. The elector of Brandenburgh denounced war against France, as a power whose perfidy, cruelty, and ambition, it was the duty of every prince to oppose. The Marquis de Castanaga, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, issued a counter-declaration to that of Louis, who had declared against his master. He accused the French king of having laid waste the empire, without any regard to the obligations of religion and humanity, and even to the laws of war: Of having countenanced the most barbarous acts of cruelty and oppression: And of having intrigued with the enemies of Christ for the destruction of the empire. The emperor negociated an alliance offensive and defensive with the States-General, binding the contracting parties to co-operate with their whole power against France and her allies. It was flipulated, That neither side should engage in a feparate treaty, on any pretence whatfoever: That no peace should be admitted until the treaties of Westphalia, Osnabruck, Munster, and the Pyrences, should have been vindicated: That, in case of a negociation for a peace, or truce, the transactions on both sides should be communicated bona fide: And that Spain and England should be invited to accede to the treaty. In a feparate article, the contracting powers agreed, That in case of the Spanish king's dying without issue, the States-General should affist the emperor with all their forces, to take possession of that monarchy: That they should use their friendly endeavours with the princes electors, their allies, towards elevating his fon Joseph to the dignity of king of the Romans; and employ their utmost

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utmost force against France, should she attempt to oppose his elevation.

& XVI. William, who was the foul of this confederacy, found no difficulty in persuading the English to undertake a war against their old enemies and rivals. On the fixteenth day of April Mr. Hambden made a motion for taking into confideration the state of the kingdom, with respect to France and foreign alliances; and the commons unanimously resolved, That in case his majesty should think fit to engage in a war with France, they would, in a parliamentary way, enable him to carry it on with vigour. An address was immediately drawn up, and presented to the king, desiring he would feriously consider the destructive methods taken of late years by the French king against the trade, quiet, and interest of the nation, particularly his present invasion of Ireland, and supporting the rebels in that kingdom. They did not doubt but the alliances already made, and those that might hereafter be concluded by his majesty, would be sufficient to reduce the French king to such a condition, that it should not be in his power to violate the peace of christendom, nor prejudice the trade and prosperity of England: In the mean time they assured his majesty he might depend upon the affistance of his parliament, according to the vote which had paffed in the house of commons. This was a welcome address to king William. He affured them, that no part of the supplies which they might grant for the prosecution of the war should be misapplied; and, on the seventh day of May, he declared war against the French monarch. On this occasion, Louis was charged with having ambitiously invaded the territories of the emperor, and denounced war against the allies of England, in violation of the treaties confirmed under the guaranty of the English crown: With having encroached upon the fishery of Newfoundland, invaded the Caribbee islands, taken forcible possession of New-York and Hudson's Bay, made depredations on the English at sea, prohibited the importation of English manufactures, disputed the right of the flag, persecuted many English subjects on

account of religion, contrary to express treaties and the law of nations, and sent an armament to Ireland, in sup-

port of the rebels of that kingdom.

§ XVII. Having thus described the progress of the revolution in England, we shall now briefly explain the measures that were prosecuted in Scotl and towards the establishment of William on the throne of that kingdom, The meeting of the Scottish convention was fixed for the fourteenth day of March; and both parties employed all their interest to influence the election of members, The duke of Hamilton, and all the presbyterians, declared for William. The duke of Gordon maintained the castle of Edinburgh for his old master; but, as he had neglected to lay in a store of provisions, he depended entirely upon the citizens for sublistence. The partisans of James were headed by the earl of Balcarras, and Graham viscount Dundee, who employed their endeavours to preserve union among the individuals of their party; to confirm the duke of Gordon, who began to waver in his attachment to their fovereign, and to manage their intrigues in fuch a manner as to derive fome advantage to their cause from the transactions of the ensuing session. When the lords and commons affembled at Edinburgh, the bishop of that diocese, who officiated as chaplain to the convention, prayed for the restoration of king James. The first dispute turned upon the choice of a president. The friends of the late king fet up the marquis of Athol in opposition to the duke of Hamilton; but this last was elected by a confiderable majority; and a good number of the other party, finding their cause the weakest, deferted it from that moment. The earls of Lothian and Tweedale were fent as deputies, to require the duke of Gordon, in the name of the Estates, to quit the castle in four-and-twenty hours, and leave the charge of it to the protestant officer next in command. The duke, though in himself irresolute, was animated by Dundee to demand fuch conditions as the convention would not The negociation proving ineffectual, the states ordered the heralds, in all their formalities, to fummon him to furrender the castle immediately, on pain of in-

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curring the penalties of high treason; and he refusing to obey their mandate, was proclaimed a traitor. All persons were forbid, under the same penalties, to aid, succour, or correspond with him; and the castle was blocked

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§ XVIII. Next day an express arrived from London, with a letter from king William to the estates; and, at the fame time, another from James was presented by one Crane, an English domestic of the abdicated queen. William observed that he had called a meeting of their estates, at the defire of the nobility and gentry of Scotland affembled at London, who requested that he would take upon himself the administration of their affairs. He exhorted them to concert measures for settling the peace of the kingdom upon a folid foundation; and to lay afide animofities and factions, which ferved only to impede that falutary fettlement. He professed himself fensible of the good effects that would arise from an union of the two kingdoms; and affured them he would use his best endeavours to promote such a coalition. A committee being appointed to draw up a respectful answer to these assurances, a 'debate ensued about the letter from the late king James. This they refolved to favour with a reading after the members should have subscribed an act, declaring, that notwithstanding any thing that might be contained in the letter for dissolving the convention, or impeding their procedure, they were a free and lawful meeting of the states; and would continue undissolved until they should have settled and secured the protestant religion, the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom. Having taken this precaution, they proceeded to examine the letter of the late Sovereign, who conjured them to support his interest as faithful subjects, and eternize their names by a loyalty suitable to their former professions. He said he would not fail to give them such speedy and powerful assistance as would enable them to defend themselves from any foreign attempt; and even to affert his right against those enemies who had depressed it by the blackest usurpations and unnatural attempts, which the Almighty God would not allow to pass unpunished.

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He offered pardon to all those who should return to their duty before the last day of the month; and threatened to punish rigorously such as should stand out in rebellion

against him and his authority.

& XIX. This address produced very little effect in favour of the unfortunate exile, whose friends were greatly outnumbered in this affembly. His messenger was ordered into custody, and afterwards dismissed with a pass instead of an answer. James, forfeeing this contempt, had, by an instrument dated in Ireland, authorised the archbishop of Glasgow, the earl of Balcarras, and the viscount Dundee, to call a convention of the estates at Stirling. These three depended on the interest of the marquis of Athol and the earl of Mar, who professed the warmest affection for the late king; and they hoped a fecession of their friends would embarrass the convention, fo as to retard the fettlement of king William. expectations however were disappointed: Athol deserted their cause; and Mar suffered himself to be intercepted in his retreat. The rest of their party were, by the vigilance of the duke of Hamilton, prevented from leaving the convention, except the viscount Dundee, who retreated to the mountains with about fifty horse; and was purfued by order of the estates. This design being frustrated, the convention approved and recognized, by a folemn act, the conduct of the nobility and gentlemen who had intreated the king of England to take upon him the administration. They acknowledged their obligation to the prince of Orange, who had prevented the destruction of their laws, religion, and fundamental constitution; they befought his highness to assume the reins of government for that kingdom: they issued a proclamation, requiring all persons, from fixteen to fixty, to be in readiness to take arms when called upon for that purpole; they conferred the command of their horse militia upon sir Patrick Hume, who was formerly attainted for having been concerned in Argyle's infurrection: They levied eight hundred men for a guard to the city of Edinburgh, and constituted the earl of Leven their commander: They put the militia all over the kingdom into the hands of those on whom they could rely: They created the earl of Mar governor of Stirling - caltle: They received a reinforcement of five regiments from England, under the command of Mackay, whom they appointed their general: and they issued orders for securing all disaffected persons. Then they dispatched lord Ross, with an answer to king William's letter, professing their gratitude to their deliverer, and congratulating him upon his fuccefs. They thanked him for affuming the administration of their affairs, and affembling a convention of their effates. They declared they would take effectual and speedy measures for securing the protestant religion, as well as for establishing the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom. They affured him they would, as much as lay in their power, avoid disputes and animosities; and defired the continuance of his majesty's care and pro-

tection. § XX. After the departure of lord Ross, they appointed a committee, confishing of eight lords, eight knights, and as many burgeffes, to prepare the plan of a new fettlement; but this refolution was not taken without a vigorous opposition from some remaining adherents of the late king, headed by the archbishop of Glasgow; all the other prelates, except he of Edinburgh, having already deferted the convention. After warm debates, the committee agreed in the following vote: "The " estates of the kingdom of Scotland find and declare, "That king James VII. being a profest papist, did af-" fume the royal power, and act as a king, without ever " taking the oath required by law; and had, by the ad-" vice of evil and wicked counfellors, invaded the fun-" damental conflitution of this kingdom, and altered it " from a legal and limited monarchy to an arbitrary de-" fpotic power, and had governed the fame to the fub-" version of the protestant religion, and violation of the " laws and liberties of the nation, inverting all the ends " of government; whereby he had forfeited the right of " the crown, and the throne was become vacant." When this vote was reported, the bishop of Edinburgh argued frenuously against it, as containing a charge of which

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the king was innocent; and he proposed that his majesty should be invited to return to his Scottish dominions. All his arguments were deseated or over-ruled, and the house confirmed the vote, which was immediately enacted into a law by a great majority. The lord president declared the throne vacant, and proposed that it might be filled with William and Mary, king and queen of England. The committee was ordered to prepare an act for settling the crown upon their majesties, together with an instrument of government for securing the subjects from the grievances under which they laboured.

§ XXI. On the eleventh day of April, this act, with the conditions of inheritance, and the inftrument, were reported, confidered, unanimously approved, and folemnly proclaimed at the market-cross of Edinburgh, in prefence of the lord prefident, affifted by the lord provoft and magistracy of the city, the duke of Queensbury, the marquisses of Athol and Douglas, together with a great number of the nobility and gentry. At the fame time they published another proclamation, forbidding all perfons to acknowledge, obey, affift, or correspond with the late king James; or, by word, writing, or fermon, to dispute or disown the royal authority of king William and queen Mary; or to misconstrue the proceedings of the effates, or create jealousies or misapprehensions with regard to the transactions of the government, on pain of incurring the most severe penalties. Then, having settled the coronation oath, they granted a commission to the earl of Argyle for the lords, to fir James Montgomery for the knights, and to fir John Dalrymple for the boroughs, empowering them to repair to London, and invest their majesties with the government. This affair being discussed, the convention appointed a committee to take care of the public peace, and adjourned to the twenty-first day of May. On the eleventh day of that month, the Scottish commissioners being introduced to their majesties at Whitehall, presented first a preparatory letter from the estates, then the instrument of government, with a paper containing a recital of the grievances

ances of the nation; and an address, desiring his majesty to convert the convention into a parliament. The king having graciously promised to concur with them in all just measures for the interest of the kingdom, the coronation-oath was tendered to their majesties by the earl of Argyle. As it contained a clause, importing that they should root out herefy, the king declared, that he did not mean by these words, that he should be under an obligation to act as a persecutor: The commissioners replying, that such was not the meaning or import of the oath, he desired them, and others present, to bear wit-

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& XXII. In the mean time, lord Dundee exerted himfelf with uncommon activity in behalf of his mafter. He had been furnioned by a trumpet to return to the convention, but refused to obey the citation, on pretence that the Whigs had made an attempt upon his life; and that the deliberations of the estates were influenced by the neighboarhood of English troops, under the command of Mackay. He was forthwith declared a fugitive, outlaw, and rebel. He was rancorously hated by the presbyterians, on whom he had exercised some cruelties, as an officer under the former government: and for this reason the states resolved to inflict upon him exemplary punishment. Parties were detached in pursuit of him and Balcarras. This last fell into their hands, and was committed to a common prison; but Dundee fought his way through the troops that furrounded him, and escaped to the Highlands, where he determined to take arms in fayour of James, though that prince had forbid him to make any attempt of this nature until he should receive While this officer was a reinforcement from Ireland. employed in affembling the clans of his party, king William appointed the duke of Hamilton commissioner to the convention parliament., The post of fecretary for Scotland was betrowed upon lord Melvil, a weak and fervile nobleman, who had taken refuge in Holland from the violence of the late reigns: But the king depended chiefly for advice upon Dalrymple, lord Stair, prefident of the college of justice, an old crafty fanatic, who for CZ fifty

fifty years had complied in all things with all govern-Though these were rigid presbyterians, the king, to humour the opposite party, admitted some individuals of the episcopal nobility to the council-board; and this intermixture, instead of allaying animosities, ferved only to fow the feeds of discord and confusion. The Scottish convention, in their detail of grievances, enumerated the lords of the articles; the act of parliament in the reign of Charles II. by which the king's fupremacy was raised so high that he could prescribe any mode of religion according to his pleafure; and the fuperiority of any office in the church above that of presbyters. The king, in his instructions to the lord commitfioner, consented to the regulation of the lords of the articles, though he would not allow the inflitution to be abrogated; he was contented that the act relating to the king's fupremacy should be rescinded, and that the churchgovernment should be established in such a manner as would be most agreeable to the inclinations of the peo-

§ XXIII. On the seventeenth day of June duke Hamilton opened the Scottish parliament, after the convention had assumed this name, in consequence of an act passed by his majesty's direction; but the members in general were extremely chagrined when they found the commissioners so much restricted in the assair of the lords of the articles, which they considered as their chief grievance. The king permitted that the estates should chuse the lords by their own suffrages; and that they should be at li-

^{*} The lords of the articles, by the gradual usurpation of the crown, actually constituted a grievance intolerable in a free nation. The king empowered the commissioner to choose eight bishops; whom he authorised to nominate eight noblemen: these together, chose eight barons and eight burgesses; and this whole number, in conjunction with the officers of state as supernumeraries, constituted the lords of the articles. This committee possesses constituted the lords of the articles. This committee possesses constituted the lords of the articles, and proposing means and expedients for redressing wrongs, and proposing means and expedients for the relief and benefit of the subjects.—Proceedings of the Scots parliament vindicated.

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berty to reconfider any subject which the faid lords might reject. He afterwards indulged the three estates with the choice of eleven delegates each, for this committee, to be elected monthly, or oftener, if they should think fit: But even these concessions, proved unsatisfactory, while the inftitution itself remained. Their difcontents were not even appealed by the palling of an act abolishing prelacy. Indeed their refentment was inflamed by another confideration; namely, that of the king's having given feats in the council to some individuals attached to the hierarchy. They manifested their fentiments on this subject by bringing in a bill, excluding from any public trust, place, or employment under their majesties, all such as had been concerned in the encroachments of the late reign, or had discovered disaffection to the late happy change, or in any way retarded or obftructed the defigns of the convention. This measure was profecuted with great warmth; and the bill paffed through all the forms of the house, but proved ineffectual, for want of the royal affent.

§ XXIV. Nor were they less obstinate in the affair of the judges, whom the king had ventured to appoint by virtue of his own prerogative. The malcontents brought in a bill declaring the bench vacant, as it was at the reftoration; afferting their own right to examine and approve those who should be appointed to fill it; providing that if in time to come any fuch total vacancy should occur, the nomination should be in the king or queen, or regent for the time being, and the parliament retain the right of approbation; and that all the clauses in the several acts relating to the admission of the ordinary lords of session, and their qualifications for that office, should be ratified and confirmed for perpetual observation. Such was the interest of this party, that the bill was carried by a great majority, notwithstanding the opposition of the ministers, who refolved to maintain the king's nomination, even in defiance of a parliamentary resolution. The majority, exasperated at this open violation of their privileges, forbade the judges whom the king had appointed to open their commissions, or hold a setsion until his majesty's C 3 further

further pleasure should be known: On the other hands they were compelled to act by the menaces of the privy-council. The dispute was carried on with great acrimony on both sides, and produced such a ferment, that before the session opened, the ministry thought proper to draw a great number of forces into the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, to support the judges in the exercise of their functions.

§ XXV. The lord commissioner, alarmed at this scene of tumult and confusion, adjourned the house till the eighth day of October: A step which, added to the other unpopular measures of the court, incensed the opposition to a violent degree. They drew up a remonstrance to the king, complaining of this adjournment while the nation was yet unfettled, recapitulating the feveral instances in which they had expressed their zeal and affection for his majesty; explaining their reasons for diffenting from the ministry in some articles; befeeching him to consider what they had represented, to give his royal affent to the acts of parliament which they had prepared, and take measures for redressing all the other grievances of the na-This address was presented to the king at Hampton-court. William was fo touched with the reproaches it implied, as if he had not fulfilled the conditions on which he accepted the crown of Scotland, that he, in his own vindication, published his instructions to the commissioner; and by these it appeared, that the duke might have proceeded to greater lengths in obliging his countrymen Before the adjournment, however, the parliament had granted the revenue for life; and raifed money for maintaining a body of forces, as well as for supporting the incidental expence of the government for fome months; yet part of the troops in that kingdom were supplied and subfifted by the administration of England. In consequence of these disputes in the Scottish parliament, their church was left without any fettled form of government; for, though the hierarchy was abolified, the presbyterian discipline was not yet established; and ecclefiaftical affairs were occasionly regulated by the privycouncil,

council, deriving its authority from that very act of supremacy which, according to the claim of rights, ought

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§ XXVI. The feffion was no fooner adjourned than fir John Lanier converted the blockade of Edinburghcastle into a regular siege; which was profecuted with fuch vigour, that in a little time the fortifications were ruined, and the works advanced at the foot of the walls, in which the besiegers had made several large breaches. The duke of Gordon, finding his ammunition expended, his defences destroyed, his intelligence entirely cut off, and defpairing of relief from the adherents of his mafter, defired to capitulate, and obtained very favourable terms for his garrison; but he would not stipulate any conditions for himself, declaring, that he had to much respect for all the princes descended from king James VI. that he would not affront any of them fo far as to infift upon terms for his own particular: He therefore, on the thirteenth day of June, surrendered the caftle and himself at discretion All the hopes of James and his party were now concentrated in the viscount Dundee, who had affembled a body of Highlanders, and refolved to attack Mackay, on an affurance he received by meldage, that the regiment of Scottish dragoons would defert that officer, and join him in the action. Mackay, having received intimation of this defign, decamped immediately, and by long marches retired before Dundee, until he was reinforced by Ramfay's dragoons, and another regiment of English infantry: Then he faced about, and Dundee in his turn retreated into Lochaber. Lord Murray, fon of the marquis of Athol, affembled his vaffals, to the number of twelve hundred men, for the service of the regency; but he was betrayed by one of his own dependents, who seized the castle of Blair for Dundee, and prevailed upon the Athol-men to disperse, rather than fight against James their lawful sovereign.

§ XXVII. The viscount was by this time reduced to great difficulty and distrets. His men had not for many weeks tasted bread or falt, or any drink but water: Instead of five hundred infantry, three hundred horse, with

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ply of arms, ammunition, and provision, which James had promifed to fend from Ireland, he received a reinforcement of three hundred naked recruits; but the transports with the stores fell into the hands of the English. Though this was a mortifying disappointment, he bore it without repining; and far from abandoning himself to despair, began his march to the castle of Blair, which was threatened with a fiege by general Mackay. When he reached this fortress, he received intelligence that the enemy had entered the pass of Killycrankie; and he resolved to give them battle without delay. He accordingly advanced against them, and a furious engagement ensued, though it was not of long duration. The Highlanders having received and returned the fire of the English, fell in among them fword in hand with fuch impetuofity, that the foot were utterly broke in feven minutes. dragoons fled at the first charge in the utmost consternation: Dundee's horse, not exceeding one hundred, broke through Mackay's own regiment: The earl of Dumbaiton, at the head of a few volunteers, made himself master of the artillery. Twelve hundred of Mackay's forces were killed on the spot, five hundred taken prisoners, and the rest sled with great precipitation for some hours, until they were rallied by their general, who was an officer of approved courage, conduct, and experience. Nothing could be more complete or decifive than the victory which the Highlanders obtained; yet it was dearly purchased with the death of their beloved chieftain the viscount Dundee, who fell by a random shot in the engage. ment; and his fate produced fuch confusion in his army as p evented all pursuit. He possessed an enterprising spirit, undaunted courage, inviolable sidelity, and was pecul arly qualified to command the people who fought under his banner. He was the life and foul of that cause which he espoused; and after his death it daily declined into ruin and difgrace. He was fucceeded in command by colonel Cannon, who landed the reinforcement from Ireland; but all his defigns miscarried: So that the clans, wearied with repeated misfortunes, laid down their arms by degrees, and took the benefit of a pardon, which king

king William offered to those who should submit within

the time specified in his proclamation.

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& XXVIII. After this sketch of Scottish affairs, it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of James, and relate the particulars of his expedition to Ireland. unfortunate prince and his queen were received with the most cordial hospitality by the French monarch; who asfigned the castle of St. Germain for the place of their refidence, supported their household with great magnificence, enriched them with prefents, and undertook to reestablish them on the throne of England. James, however, conducted himself in such a manner as conveyed no favourable idea of his spirit and understanding. He frems to have been emasculated by religion: He was deferted by that courage and magnanimity for which his youth had been diftinguished. He did not discover great fensibility at the loss of his kingdom. All his faculties were fivallowed up in bigotry. Instead of contriving plans for retrieving his crown, he held conferences with the jesuits on topics of religion. The pity which his misfortunes excited in Louis, was mingled with contempt. The pope supplied him with indulgences, while the Romans laughed at him in pasquinades. " There is " a pious man (faid the archbishop of Rheims ironically) "who has facrificed three crowns for a mais." In a word he subjected himself to the ridicule and raillery of the French nation.

§ XXIX. All the hopes of re-ascending the British throne depended upon his friends in Scotland and Ireland. Tyrconnel, who commanded in this last kingdom, was confirmed in his attachment to James, by the persuasions of Hamilton, who had undertaken for his submission to the prince of Orange. Nevertheless, he disguised his fentiments, and temporized with William, until James should be able to supply him with reinforcements from France, which he earnestly solicited by private messages. In the mean time, with a view to cajole the protestants of Ireland, and amuse king William with the hope of his submission, he persuaded the lord Mountjoy, in whom the protestants chiefly consided, and baron Rice, to go in person

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with a commission to James, representing the necessity of yielding to the times, and of waiting a fitter opportunity to make use of his Irish subjects. Mountjoy, on his arrival at Paris, instead of being favoured with an audience by James, to explain the reasons which Tyr. connel had fuggefted touching the inability of Ireland to restore his majesty, was committed prisoner to the Bastile, on account of the zeal with which he had espoused the protestant interest. Although Louis was fincerely disposed to assist James effectually, his intentions were obstructed by the disputes of his ministry. Louvois pos-Tessed the chief credit in council: But Seignelai enjoyed a greater share of personal favour, both with the king and madame de Maintenon, the favourite concubine. To this nobleman, as fecretary for marine affairs, James made his chief application; and he had promifed the command of the troops destined for his service to Lausum, whom Louvois hated. For these reasons this minister thwarted his measures, and retarded the affistance which Louis had promised toward his restoration.

& XXX. Yet, notwithstanding all his opposition, the fuccours were prepared, and the fleet ready to put to fea by the latter end of February. The French king is faid to have offered any army of fifteen thousand natives of France to serve in this expedition; but James replied, that he would fucceed by the help of his own subjects, or perish in the attempt. Accordingly, he contented himfelf with about twelve hundred British subjects, and a good number of French officers, who were embarked in the fleet at Brest, consisting of fourteen ships of the line, feven frigates, three fireflips, with a good number of transports. The French king also supplied him with a confiderable quantity of arms for the use of his adherents in Ireland; accommodated him with a large fum of money, superb equipages, store of plate, and necessaries of all kinds for the camp and the household. At parting, he prefented him with his own cuirafs; and embracing him affectionately, " The best thing I can " wish you (faid he) is, that I may never see you

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^{*} See note [C] at the end of the volume.

" again." On the seventh day of March James embarked at Brest, together with the count d'Avaux, who accompanied him in quality of ambaffador, and his principal officers. He was detained in the harbour by contrary winds till the feventeenth day of the month, when he fet fail, and on the twenty-fecond landed at Kinfale, in Ireland. By this time king William, perceiving himfelf amused by Tyrconnel, nad published a declaration, requiring the Irish to lay down their arms, and fubmit to the new government. On the twenty-fecond day of February thirty thips of war had been put in commiffion, and the command of them conferred upon admiral Herbert; but the armament was retarded in fuch a manner, by the disputes of the council, and the king's attention to the affairs of the continent, that the admiral was not in a condition to fail till the beginning of April, and then with part of his fleet only. James was received with open arms at Kinfale, and the whole country feemed to be at his devotion; for, although the protestants in the north had declared for the new government, their ftrength and number was deemed inconfiderable when compared with the power of Tyrconnel. nister had disarmed all the other protestant subjects in one day, and affembled an army of thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand cavalry, for the service of his mafter.

§ XXXI. In the latter end of March James made his public entry into Dublin, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. He was met at the castle-gate by a procession of popish bishops and priests in their pontificals, bearing the host, which he publicly adored. He dismissed from the council-board the lord Granard, judge Keating, and other protestants, who had exhorted the lord lieutenant to an accommodation with the new government: In their room he admitted the French ambassador, the bishop of Chester, colonel Dorrington, and, by degrees, the principal noblemen who accompanied him in the expedition. On the second day after his arrival in Dublin, he issued five proclamations: The first recalled all the subjects of Ireland who had abandoned the kingdom, by a certain time, on pain of outlawry

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and confication, and requiring all persons to join him against the prince of Orange. The second contained expressions of acknowledgment to his catholic subjects for their vigilance and fidelity; and an injunction to such as were not actually in his service, to retain and lay up their arms until it should be found necessary to use them for his advantage. By the third he invited the subjects to supply his army with provisions; and prohibited the soldiers to take any thing without payment. By the fourth he raised the value of the current coin: And in the fifth he summoned a parliament to meet on the seventh day of May at Dublin. Finally, He created Tyrconnel a duke, in consideration of his eminent services.

& XXXII. The adherents of James in England preffed him to fettle the affairs of Ireland immediately, and bring over his army either to the north of England or the west of Scotland, where it might be joined by his party, and act without delay against the usurper; but his council diffuaded him from complying with their folicitations, until Ireland should be totally reduced to obedience. On the first alarm of an intended massacre, the protestants of Londonderry had thut their gates against the regiment commanded by the earl of Antrin, and resolved to defend themselves against the lord-lieu-They transmitted this resolution to the government of England, together with an account of the danger they incurred by fuch a vigorous meafure, and implored immediate affiftance. They were accordingly supplied with fome arms and ammunition; but did not receive any considerable reinforcement till the middle of April. when two regiments arrived in Loughfoyl, under the command of Cunningham and Richards. By this time king James had taken Coleraine, invested Killmore, and was almost in fight of Londonderry. George Walker, rector of Donaghmore, who had raifed a reg ment for the defence of the protestants, conveyed this intelligence to Lundy, the governor. This officer directed him to join colonel Crafton, and take post at the Longcausey; which he maintained a whole night against the advanced guard of the enemy; until, being overpowered by numbers, he

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retreated to Londonderry, and exhorted the governor to take the field, as the army of king James was not yet completely formed. Lundy affembling a council of war, at which Cunningham and Richards affifted, they agreed that, as the place was not tenable, it would be imprudent to land the two regiments; and that the principal officers should withdraw themselves from Londonderry, the inhabitants of which would obtain the more favourable capitulation in consequence of their retreat. An officer was immediately dispatched to king James, with propofals of a negociation; and lieutenant-general Hamilton agreed that the army should halt at the distance of four miles from the town. Notwithstanding this preliminary, James advanced at the head of his troops; but met with fuch a warm reception from the befieged, that he was fain to retire to St. John's Town in some disorder. The inhabitants and foldiers in garrifon at Londonderry were fo incenfed at the members of the council of war, who had refolved to abandon the place, that they threatened immediate vengeance. Cunningham and Richards retired to their ships, and Lundy locked himself in his chamber. In vain did Walker and major Baker exhort him to maintain his government. Such was his treachery or cowardice, that he absolutely refused to be concerned in the defence of the place; and he was fuffered to escape in difguife, with a load of match upon his back; but he was afterwards apprehended in Scotland, from whence he was fent to London to answer for his perfidy or mifconduct.

§ XXXIII. After his retreat the townsmen chose Mr. Walker and major Baker for their governors, with joint authority; but this office they would not undertake until it had been offered to colonel Cunningham, as the officer next in command to Lundy. He rejected the proposal, and with Richards returned to England; where they were immediately cashiered. The two new governors, thus abandoned to their fate, began to prepare for a vigorous desence; indeed their courage seems to have transcended the bounds of discretion, for the place was very ill fortissed: Their cannon, which did not exceed twenty pieces, were wretchedly mounted: They had not one

engineer to direct their operations: They had a very small number of horse: The garrison consisted of people unacquainted with military discipline: They were destitute of provisions: They were besieged by a king in perfon, at the head of a formidable army, directed by good officers, and supplied with all the necessary implements for a fiege or battle. This town was invested on the twentieth day of April: The batteries were foon opened, and feveral attacks were made with great impetuofity; but the befiegers were always repulfed with confiderable lofs. The townsmen gained divers advantages in repeated fallies, and would have held their enemies in the utmost contempt, had they not been afflicted with a contagious distemper, as well as reduced to extremity by want of provision. They were even tantalized in their distress; for they had the mortification to see some ships which had arrived with fupplies from England, prevented from failing up the river by the batteries the enemy had raifed on both fides, and a boom with which they had blocked up the channel. At length, a reinforcement arrived in the Lough, under the command of general Kirke, who had deferted his mafter, and been employed in the fervice of king William. He found means to convey intelligence to Walker, that he had troops and provisions on board for their relief, but found it impracticable to fail up the river: He promifed, however, that he would land a body of forces at the Inch, and endeavour to make a diversion in their favour, when joined by the troops at Inniskilling, which amounted to five thousand men, including two thousand cavalry. He faid he expected fix thousand men from England, where they were embarked before he fet fail. He exhorted them to persevere in their courage and loyalty, and affured them he would come to their relief at all hazards. These affurances enabled them to bear their miseries a little longer, though their numbers daily diminished. Major Baker dying, his place was filled with colonel Mich lburn, who now acted as colleague to Mr. Walker

§ XXXIV. King James having returned to Dublin,

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to be present at the parliament, the command of his army devolved to the French general Rosene, who was exasperated at fuch an obstinate opposition by a handful of half-starved militia. He threatened to raze the town to its foundations, and destroy the inhabitants, without diffinctions of age or fex, unless they would immediately fubmit themselves to their lawful sovereign. vernors treated his menaces with contempt, and published an order, That no person, on pain of death, should talk of furrendering. They had now confumed the last remains of their provision, and supported life by eating the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, rats, mice, tallow, starch, and falted hides; and even this loathfome food began to fail. Rosene, finding them deaf to all his proposals, threatened to wreak his vengeance on all the protestants of that country, and drive them under the walls of Londonderry, where they should be suffered to perish by famine. The bishop of Meath, being informed of this design, complained to king James of the barbarous intention; intreating his majesty to prevent its being put in execution. That prince affured him that he had already ordered Rosene to defist from such proceeding. Nevertheless, the Frenchman executed his threats with the utmost rigor. Parties of dragoons were detached on this cruel fervice: After having stripped all the protestants for thirty miles round, they drove these unhappy people before them like cattle, without even sparing the enfeebled old men, nurses with infants at their breasts, tender children, women just delivered, and some even in the pangs of labour. Above four thousand of these miserable objects were driven under the walls of Londonderry. This expedient, far from answering the purpose of Rofene, produced quite a contrary effect. The befieged were so exasperated at this act of inhumanity, that they resolved to perish rather than submit to such a barbarian. They erected a gibbet in fight of the enemy, and fent a message to the French general, importing, That they would hang all the prisoners they had taken during the nege, unless the protestants, whom they had driven under the walls, should be immediately dismissed. This threat

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produced a negociation, in consequence of which the protestants were released, after they had been detained three days without tasting food. Some hundreds died of famine, or fatigue; and those who lived to return to their own habitations found them plundered and sacked by the papists, so that the greater number perished for want, or were murthered by the straggling parties of the enemy; yet these very people had, for the most part, obtained protections from king James; to which no respect was

paid by his general.

& XXXV. The garrison of Londonderry was now reduced from feven to five thousand seven hundred men; and these were driven to such extremity of distress, that they began to talk of killing the popish inhabitants, and feeding on their bodies. In this emergency, Kirke, who had hitherto lain inactive, ordered two ships laden with provisions to fail up the river, under convoy of the Dartmouth frigate. One of them, called the Mountjoy, broke the enemy's boom; and all the three, after having fustained a very hot fire from both fides of the river, arrived in fafety at the town, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants. The army of James were fo dispirited by the success of this enterprise, that they abandoned the fiege in the night, and retired with precipitation, after having loft about nine thousand men before the place. Kirke no fooner took poffession of the town, than Walker was prevailed upon to embark for England, with an address of thanks from the inhabitants to their majesties for the seasonable relief they had received.

§ XXXVI. The Inniskillingers were no less remarkable than the people of Londonderry, for the valour and perseverance with which they opposed the papists. They raised twelve companies, which they regimented under the command of Gustavus Hamilton, whom they chose for their governor. They proclaimed William and Mary on the eleventh day of March; and resolved, in a general council, to maintain their title against all opposition. The lord Gilmoy invested the castle of Crom, belonging to the protestants, in the neighbourhood of Inniskilling, the inhabitants of which threw succours into the place,

and compelled Gilmoy to retire to Belturbet. A detachment of the garrison, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Lloyd, took and demolished the castle of Aughor; and they gained the advantage in several skirmishes with the enemy. On the day that preceded the relief of Londonderry, they defeated six thousand I ish papists at a place called Newton-Butler, and took their commander

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& XXXVII. The Irish parliament being assembled at Dublin, according to the proclamation of king James, he, in a speech from the throne, thanked them for the zeal, courage, and loyalty they had manifested; extolled the generofity of the French king, who had enabled him to visit them in person; infifted upon executing his defign of establishing liberty of conscience as a step equally agreeable to the dictates of humanity and difcretion, and promifed to concur with them in enacting fuch laws as would contribute to the peace, affluence, and fecurity of his subjects. Sir Richard Neagle being chosen speaker of the commons, moved for an address of thanks to his majesty; and that the count d'Avaux should be defired to make their acknowledgments to the most christian king, for the generous affiftance he had given to their fovereign. These addresses being drawn up, with the concurrence of both houses, a bill was brought in to recognize the king's title, to express their abhorrence of the usurpation by the prince of Orange, as well as of the defection of the English. Next day James published a declaration, complaining of the calumnies which his enemies had fpread to his prejudice; expatiating upon his own impartiality in preferring his protestant subjects; his care in protecting them from their enemies, in redrefling their grievances, and in granting liberty of conscience; promising that he would take no step but with the approbation of parliament; offering a free pardon to al persons who should defert his enemies, and join with him in four-and-twenty days after his landing in Ireland, and charging ail the blood that might be shed upon those who should continue in rebellion.

§ XXXVIII. His conduct, however, very ill agreed D₃ with

with this declaration; nor can it be excused on any other supposition, but that of his being governed, in some cases against his own inclination, by the count d'Avaux, and the Irish catholics, on whom his whole dependence was placed. As both houses were chiefly filled with members of that perfualion, we ought not to wonder at their bringing in a bill for repealing the act of fettlement, by which the protestants of the kingdom had been secured in the possession of their estates. These were by this law divested of their lands; which reverted to the heirs of those catholics to whom they belonged before their This iniquitous bill was framed in fuch a manner, that no regard was paid to fuch protestant owners as had purchased estates for valuable considerations: No allowance was made for improvements, nor any provision for protestant widows: The possessor and tenants were not even allowed to remove their stock and When the bill was fent up to the lords, Dr. Dopping, bishop of Meath, opposed it with equal courage and ability; and an address in behalf of the purchasers, under the act of settlement, was presented to the king by the earl of Granard: But notwithstanding these remonstrances, it received the royal affent: and the protestants of Ireland were mostly ruined.

& XXXIX. Yet, in order to complete their destruction, an act of attainder was passed against all protestants, whether male or female, whether of high or low degree, who were absent from the kingdom, as well as against all those who retired into any part of the three kingdoms, which did not own the authority of king James, or correspond with rebels, or were anywise aiding, abetting, or affifting to them from the first day of August in the preceding year. The number of protestants attainted by name in this act amounted to about three thousand, including two archbishops, one duke, seventeen earls, feven countesses, as many bishops, eighteen barons, three-and-thirty baronets, one-and-fifty knights, eightythree clergymen; who were declared traitors, and adjudged to suffer the pains of death and forfeiture. individuals, subjected to this dreadful proscription, were

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even cut off from all hope of pardon, and all benefit of appeal: For, by a clause in the act, the king's pardon was deemed null, unless enrolled before the first day of December. A subsequent law was enacted, declaring Ireland independent of the English parliament. affembly passed another act, granting twenty thousand pounds per annum, out of the forfeited estates, to Tyrconnel, in acknowledgment of his fignal fervices: . They imposed a tax of twenty thousand pounds per month for the fervice of the king: The royal affent was given to an act for liberty of conscience: They enacted that the tithes payable by papifts should be delivered to priests of that communion: The maintenance of the protestant clergy in cities and corporations was taken away; and all diffenters were exempted from ecclefiaftical jurifdictions; so that the established church was deprived of all power and prerogative, notwithstanding the express promife of James, who had declared, immediately after his landing, that he would maintain the clergy in their rights and privileges.

§ XL. Nor was the king less arbitrary in the executive part of his government, if we suppose that he countenanced the grievous acts of oppression that were daily committed upon the protestant subjects of Ireland: But the tyranny of his proceedings may be justly imputed to the temper of his ministry, consisting of men abandoned to all fense of justice and humanity, who acted from the dictates of rapacity and revenge, inflamed with all the acrimony of religious rancour. Soldiers were permitted to live upon free quarter: The people were robbed and plundered: Licenses and protections were abused, in order to extort money from the trading part of the nation. The king's old stores were ransacked: the shops of tradesmen, and the kitchens of burghers, were pillaged to supply the mint with a quantity of brass, which was converted into current coin for his majetty's occalions: An arbitrary value was fet upon it; and all persons were required and commanded to take it in payment, under the feverest penalties, though the proportion between its intrinsic worth and currency was nearly as one to three hundred.

hundred. A vast sum of this counterfeit coin was issued in the course of one year, and forced upon the protestants in payment of merchandize, provision, and necessaries, for the king's fervice. James, not content with the fupply granted by parliament, imposed, by his own authority, a tax of twenty thousand pounds per month on chattels, as the former was laid upon lands. This feems to have been a temporary expedient during the adjournment of the two houses, as the term of the affestment was limited to three months: It was, however, levied by virtue of a commission under the seals; and seems to have been a ftretch of prerogative, the less excuseable, as he might have obtained the money in a parliamentary way. Understanding that the protestants had laid out all ther brass money in purchasing great quantities of hides, tallow, wool, and corn, he affumed the despotic power of fixing the prices of these commodities, and then bought them for his own afe. One may fee his ministers were bent upon the utter destruction of those unhappy people.

§ XLI. All vacancies in public schools were supplied with popish teachers. The pension allowed from the exchequer to the university of Dublin was cut off: The vice-provoft, fellows, and fcholars, were expelled: Their furniture, plate, and public library, were feized, without the least shadow or pretence, and in direct violation of a promise the king had made to preserve their privileges and immunities. His officers converted the college into a garrison, the chapel into a magazine, and the apartments into prisons: A popish priest was appointed provost. One Maccarty, of the fame perfuasion, was made library-keeper; and the whole foundation was changed into a catholic feminary. When bishoprics and benefices in the gift of the crown became vacant, the king ordered the profits to be lodged in the exchequer, and fuffered the cures to be totally neglected. The revenues were chiefly employed in the maintenance of Romish bishops and priests, who grew so insolent under this indulgence, that in feveral places they forcibly feized the protestant churches. When complaint was

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made of this outrage, the king promifed to do justice to the injured; and, in some places, actually ordered the churches to be restored: But the popish clergy refused to comply with this order, alledging, that in spirituals they owed obedience to no earthly power but the holy fee; and James found himself unable to protect his protestant subjects against a powerful body which he durft not difoblige. Some ships appearing in the bay of Dublin, a proclamation was iffued, forbidding the protestants to affemble in any place of worship, or elsewhere, on pain By a fecond, they were commanded to bring in their arms, on pain of being treated as rebels and traitors. Luttrel, governor of Dublin, published an ordinance by beat of drum, requiring the farmers to bring in their corn for his majesty's horses, within a certain day, otherwise he would order them to be hanged before their own doors. Brigadier Sarsfield commanded all protestants of a certain district to retire to the distance of ten miles from their habitations, on pain of death; and, in order to keep up the credit of the brass money, the fame penalty was denounced, in a proclamation, against any person who should give more than one pound eighteen shillings for a guinea.

§ XLII. All the revenues of Ireland, and all the schemes contrived to balfter up the credit of the bale coin, would have proved infufficient to support the expences of the war, had not James received occasional supplies from the French monarch. After the return of the fleet which had conveyed him to Ireland, Louis sent another firong squadron, commanded by Chateau Renault, as a convoy to some transports laden with arms, ammunition, and a large fum of money, for the use of king James. Before they failed from Brest, king William, being informed of their destination, detached admiral Herbert from Spithead with twelve ships of the line, one fire-ship, and four tenders, in order to intercept the enemy. He was driven by stress of weather into Milford-haven, from whence he steered his course to Kinsale, on the supposition that the French fleet had failed from Brest; and that in all probability he should

fall in with them on the coast of Ireland. On the first day of May he discovered them at anchor in Bantrey-bay, and flood in to engage them, though they were greatly fuperior to him in number. They no fooner perceived him at day-break, than they weighed, flood out to windward, formed their line, bore down, and began the action, which was maintained for two hours with equal valour on both fides, though the English fleet suffained confiderable damage from the superior fire of the enemy. Herbert tacked feveral times, in hope of gaining the weather-gage; but the French admiral kept his wind with uncommon skill and perseverance. At length the English squadron stood off to sea, and maintained a running fight till five in the afternoon, when Chateau Renault tacked about, and returned into the bay, content with the honour he had gained. The loss of men was inconfiderable on both fides; and, where the odds were fo great, the victor could not reap much glory. Herbert retired to the isles of Scilly, where he expected a reinforcement: But being disappointed in this expectation, he returned to Portsmouth in very ill-humour, with which his officers and men were infected. The common failors still retained some attachment to James, who had formerly been a favourite among them; and the officers complained that they had been fent upon this fervice with a force fo much inferior to that of the enemy. King William, in order to appeale their discontent, made an excursion to Portsmouth, where he dined with the admiral on board the ship Elizabeth, declared his intention of making him an earl, in confideration of his good conduct and fervices, conferred the honour of knighthood on the captains Ashby and Shovel, and bestowed a donation of ten shillings on every private failor.

§ XLIII. The parliament of England thought it incumbent upon them not only to raise supplies for the maintenance of the war, in which the nation was involved, but also to do justice with respect to those who had been injured by illegal or oppressive sentences in the late reigns. The attainders of lord Russel, Algernon

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Sidney, alderman Cornish, and lady Lisle, were now reversed. A committee of privileges was appointed by the lords to examine the case of the earl of Devonshire, who, in the late reign, had been fined thirty thousand. pounds, for affaulting colonel Culpepper in the prefence-They reported that the court of king's bench, in over-ruling the earl's plea of privilege of parliament, had committed a manifest breach of privilege: That the fine was excessive and exprisiont; against the great charter, the common right of the subject, and the law of the realm. The tentence pronounced upon Samuel Johnson, chaplain to lord Russel, in consequence of which he had been degraded, fined, scourged, and fet in the pillory, was now annulled, and the commons recommended him to his majefty for some ecclesiastical preferment. He received one thousand pounds in money, with a pension of three hundred pounds for his own life and that of his fon, who was moreover gratified with a place of one hundred pounds a year: But the father never obtained any ecclefiastical benefice. Titus Oates feized this opportunity of petitioning the house of lords for a reversal of the judgments given against him on his being convicted of perjury. The opinions of all the judges and counsel at the bar were heard on this subject, and a bill of reverfal passed the commons; but the peers having inferted fome amendments and a provifo, a conference was demanded, and violent heats enfued. Oates, however, was released from confinement; and the lords, with the confent of the commons, recommended him to his majesty for a pardon: which he obtained, together. with a comfortable pension. The committee appointed to enquire into the cases of the state-prisoners, found fir Robert Wright, late lord chief-justice, to have been concerned in the cruelties committed in the west, after the insurrection of Monmouth; as also one of the ecclesiastical commissioners, and guilty of manifold enormities. Death had by this time delivered Jefferies from the refentment of the nation. Graham and Burton had acted as folicitors in the illegal profecutions carried on against those who opposed the court in the reign of Charles II; these

were now reported guilty of having been instrumental in taking away the lives and estates of those who had suffered the lots of either under colour of law for eight years last past; of having, by malicious indictments, informations, and prosecutions of quo warranto, endeavoured the subversion of the protestant religion, and the government of the realm; and of having wasted many thousand pounds of the public revenue in the course of

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& XLIV. Nor did the misconduct of the present mipiftry escape the animadversion of the parliament. The fords having addressed the king to put the Isle of Wight, Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, Dover-castle, and the other fortresses of the kingdom in a posture of defence, and to difarm the papifts, empowered a committee to enquire into the miscarriages in Ireland, which were generally imputed to the neglect of the marquisses of Caermarthen and Hallifax. They presented an address to the king, defiring the minute-book of the committee for Irish affairs might be put into their hands; but his majefty declined gratifying them in this particular: Then the commons voted, That those persons who had advised the king to delay this fatisfaction, were enemies to the king-William, alarmed at this resolution, allowed them to inspect the book, in which they found very little for their purpote. The house resolved that an address should be presented to his majesty, declaring that the fuccour of Ireland had been retarded by unnecessary delays; that the transports prepared were not sufficient to convey the forces to that kingdom; and that feveral thips had been taken by the enemy for want of proper convoy. At the same time the question was put, Whether or not they should address the king against the marquis of Hallifax? But it was carried in the negative by a small majority. Before this period Howe, vicechamberlain to the queen, had moved for an address against such counsellors as had been impeached in parliament, and betrayed the liberties of the nation. motion was levelled at Caermarthen and Hallifax; the first of whom had been formerly impeached of high treantaf

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fon, under the title of earl of Danby; and the other was charged with all the misconduct of the present administration. Warm debates ensued, and in all probability the motion would have been carried in the affirmative. had not those who spoke warmly in behalf of it suddenly cooled in the course of the dispute. Some letters from king James to his partifans being intercepted, and containing fome hints of an intended invasion, Mr. Hambden, chairman of the committee of the whole house, enlarged upon the imminent danger to which the kingdom was exposed, and moved for a farther supply to his majesty. In this unexpected motion, he was not seconded by one member. The house, however, having taken the letters into confideration, refolved to draw up an address to the king, defiring him to secure and disarm all papifts of note; and they brought in a bill for attainting feveral persons in rebellion against their majesties; but it was not finished during this session.

§ XLV. Another bill being prepared in the house of lords, enjoining the subjects to wear the woollen manufacture at certain seasons of the year, a petition was prefented against it by the filk-weavers of London and Canterbury, affembled in a tumultuous manner at Westminster. The lords refused their petition, because this was an unufual manner of application. They were perfuaded to return to their respective places of abcde; precautions were taken against a second riot; and the bill was unanimously rejected in the upper house. This parliament passed an act, vesting in the two universities the presentations belonging to papists: Those of the fouthern counties being given to Oxford; and those of the northern to Cambridge, on certain specified condi-Courts of conscience were erected at Bristol, Gloucester, and Newcastle; and that of the Marches of Wales was abolished, as an intolerable oppression. The protestant clergymen, who had been forced to leave their benefices in Ireland, were rendered capable of holding any living in England, without forfeiting their title to their former preferment, with the proviso that they should refign their English benefices when restored to those they VOL. I. E

had beeen obliged to relinquish. The statute of Henry IV. against multiplying gold and silver was now repealed: The subjects were allowed to melt and refine metals and ores, and extract gold and silver from them, on condition that it should be brought to the mint and converted into money, the owners receiving its full value in current coin. These, and several other bills of smaller importance being passed, the two houses adjourned to the twentieth day of September, and afterwards to the nineteenth day of October.

CHAP. II.

§ I. The duke of Schomberg lands with an army in Ireland. § II. The Inniskilliners obtain a victory over the § III. Schomberg censured for his inactivity. & IV. The French worsted at Walcourt. & V. Success of the confederates in Germany. The Turks defeated at Pacochin, Nisa, and Widen. § VI. Death of pope Innocent XI. & VII. King William becomes unpopular. § VIII. A good number of the clergy refuse to take the oaths. § IX. The king grants a commission for reforming church-discipline. § X. Meeting of the convocation. § XI. Their selfion discontinued by repeated prorogations. § XII. Proceedings in parliament. § XIII. The Whigs obstruct the bill of indemnity. § XIV. The commons resume the inquiry into the cause of the miscarriages in Ireland. § XV. King William irritated against the Whigs. § XVI. Plot against the government by Sir James Montgomery, discovered by bishop Burnet. § XVII. Warm debates in parliament about the corporation-bills. & XVIII. The king refolves to finish the Irish war in person. § XIX. General Ludlow arrives in England, but is obliged to withdraw. § XX. Efforts of the Jacobites in Scotland. § XXI. The court interest triumphs over all opposition in that country. § XXII. The Tory interest prevails in

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the new parliament of England. § XXIII. Bill for recognizing their majesties. & XXIV. Another violent contest about the bill of abjuration. § XXV. King William lands in Ireland. § XXVI. King James marches to the Boyne. & XXVII. William resolves to give him battle. § XXVIII. Battle of the Boyne. & XXIX. Death and character of Schomberg. & XXX. James embarks for France. § XXXI. William enters Dublin, and publishes his declaration. § XXXII. The French obtain a victory over the English and Dutch fleets off Beachy-head. § XXXIII. Torrington committed prisoner to the Tower. & XXXIV. Progress of William in Ireland. § XXXV. He invests Limerick; but is obliged to raise the siege, and returns to England. § XXXVI. Cork and Kinfale reduced by the earl of Marlborough. § XXXVII. Lauzun and the French forces quit Ireland. § XXXVIII. The duke of Savoy joins the confederacy. § XXXIX. Prince Waldeck defeated at Fleurus & XL. The archduke Joseph elected king of the Romans. Death of the duke of Lorrain. Progress of the war against the Turks. § XLI. Meeting of the parliament. § XLII. The commons comply with all the king's demands. & XLIII. Petition of the Tories in the city of London. § XLIV. Attempt against the marquis of Caermarthen. § XLV. The king's voyage to Holland. & XLVI. He affifts at a congress. Returns to England.

§ I. THOUGH the affairs of Ireland were extremely preffing, and the protestants of that country had made repeated application for relief, the fuccours were retarded either by disputes among the ministers, or the neglect of those who had the management of the expedition, in fuch a manner, that king James had been fix months in Ireland before the army was embarked for that kingdom. At length, eighteen regiments of infantry, and five of dragoons, being raised for that service, a train of artillery provided, and transports E 2

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prepared, the duke of Schomberg, on whom king William had conferred the chief command of this armament, fet out for Chester, after he had in person thanked the commons for the uncommon regard they had paid to his fervices, and received affurances from the house, that they would pay particular attention to him and his army. On the thirteenth day of August he landed in the neighbourhood of Carrickfergus with about ten thousand foot and dragoons, and took possession of Belfast, from whence the enemy retired at his approach to Carrickfergus, where they reloved to make a stand. The duke having refreshed his men, marched thither, and invested the place: The fiege was carried on till the twenty-fixth day of the month, when, the breaches being practicable, the befieged capitulated, on condition of marching out with their arms, and as much baggage as they could carry on their backs; and of their being conducted to the next Irish garrison, which was at Newry. During this siege the duke was joined by the rest of his army from England; but he had left orders for conveying the greater part of the artillery and stores from Chester directly to Carlingford. He now began his march through Lisburne and Hillsborough, and encamped at Drummore, where the protestants of the north had been lately routed by Hamilton: Thence he proceeded to Loughbrillane, where he was joined by the horse and dragoons of Inniskillin. the enemy abandoned Newry and Dundalk; in the neighbourhood of which Schomberg encamped on a low damp ground, having the town and river on the fouth, and furrounded on every other part by hills, bogs, and mountains.

§ II. His army, confifting chiefly of new-raifed men, little inured to hardship, began to flag under the fatigue of marching, the inclemency of the weather, and scarcity of provision. Here he was reinforced by the regiments of Kirke, Hanner, and Stuart; and would have continued his march to Drogheda, where he understood Rosene lay with about twenty thousand men, had he not been obliged to wait for the artillery, which was not yet arrived at Carlingford. King James, having affembled

all his forces, advanced towards Schomberg, and appeared before his entrenchments in order of battle; but the duke, knowing they were greatly superior in number of horse, and that his own army was undisciplined, and weakened by death and fickness, restrained his men within the lines; and in a little time the enemy retreated. Immediately after their departure a conspiracy was difcovered in the English camp, hatched by some French papifts, who had infinuated themselves into the protestant regiments. One of these, whose name was Du Pleffis, had written a letter to the ambaffador, d'Avaux, promifing to defert with all the papifts of the three French regiments in Schomberg's army. This letter being found, Du Plessis and five accomplices were tried by a court-marrial, and executed. About two hundredand-fifty papifts being discovered in the French regiments, they were fent over to England, and from thence to Holland. While Schomberg remained in this fituation the Inniskilliners made excursions in the neighbourhood, under the command of colonel Lloyd; and on the twenty-feventh day of September they obtained a complete victory over five times their number of the Irish. They killed feven hundred on the spot, and took O'Kelly, their commander, with about fifty officers, and a confiderable booty of cattle. The duke was fo pleased with their behaviour on this occasion, that they received a very honourable testimony of his approba-

§ III. Meanwhile the enemy took possession of James-town, and reduced Sligo; one of the forts of which was gallantly defended by St. Sauver, a French captain, and his company of grenadiers, until he was obliged to capitulate for want of water and provision. A contagious diffemper still continued to rage in Schomberg's camp, and swept off a great number of officers and foldiers; to that in the beginning of the next ipring, not above half the number of those who went over with the general remained alive. He was censured for his inactivity; and the king, in repeated letters, defired him to hazard an engagement, provided any opportunity

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should occur; but he did not think proper to run the risque of a battle against an enemy that was above thrice his number, well-disciplined, healthy, and conducted by able officers. Nevertheless, he was certainly blameable for having chosen such an unwholesome situation. At the approach of winter he retired into quarters, in hopes of being reinforced with feven thousand Danes, who had already arrived in Britain. These auxiliaries were stipulated in a treaty which William had just concluded with the king of Denmark. The English were not more fuccessful at sea than they had proved in their operations by land. Admiral Herbert, now created earl of Torrington, having failed to Ireland with the combined squadrons of England and Holland, made a fruitless attempt upon Cork, and lost a great number of feamen by fickness, which was imputed to bad provision. The Dartmouth ship of war fell into the hands of the enemy, who infested the channel with such a number of armed ships and privateers, that the trade of England suftained incredible damage.

& IV. The affairs of France wore but a gloomy aspect on the continent, where all the powers of Europe feemed to have conspired her destruction. King William had engaged in a new league with the States-General; in which former treaties of peace and commerce were confirmed. It was flipulated, that in case the king of Great Britain should be attacked, the Dutch should affift him with fix thousand infantry and twenty ships of the line: And that, provided hostilities should be committed against the States-General, England should supply them with ten thousand infantry and twenty ships of war. This treaty was no fooner ratified than the king dispatched the lord Churchill, whom he had by this time created earl of Marlborough, to Holland, in order to command the British auxiliaries in that service, to the number of eleven thousand, the greater part of which had been in the army of king James when the prince of Orange landed in England. The earl forthwith joined the Dutch army, under the command of prince Waldeck, who had fixed his rendezvous in the county of Liege,

Liege, with a view to act against the French army, commanded by the mareschal d'Humieres; while the prince of Vaudemont headed a little army of observation, consisting of Spaniards, Dutch, and Germans, to watch the motions of Calvo in another part of the Low-countries. The city of Leige was compelled to renounce the neutrality, and declare for the allies. Mareschal d'Humieres attacked the foragers belonging to the army of the States at Walcourt, in the month of August; an obstinate engagement ensued, and the French were obliged to retreat in confusion, with the loss of two thousand men, and some pieces of artillery. The army of observation levelled part of the French lines on the side of Courtray, and raised contributions on the territories

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§ V. The French were almost entire masters of the three ecclesiastical electorates of Germany. They possessed Mentz, Triers, Bonne, Keiserswaert, Philips-burgh, and Landau. They had blown up the castle of Heildelberg in the Palatinate, and destroyed Manheim. They had reduced Worms and Spiers to ashes; and demolished Frankendahl; together with several other fortreffes. These conquests, the fruits of sudden invasion, were covered with a numerous army, commanded by the mareschal de Duras; and all his inferior generals were officers of distinguished courage and ability. vertheless, he found it difficult to maintain his ground against the different princes of the empire. The duke of Lorraine, who commanded the Imperial treops, invested Mentz, and took it by capitulation: The elector of Brandenburgh, having reduced Keiserswaert, undertook the fiege of Bonne, which the garrison surrendered, after having made a long and vigorous defence. Nothing contributed more to the union of the German princes than their refentment of the shocking barbarity with which the French had plundered, wasted, and depopulated their country. Louis having, by his intrigues in Poland, and at Constantinople, prevented a pacification between the emperor and the Ottoman porte, the campaign was opened in Croatia, where five thousand Turks were

were defeated by a body of Croats, between Vihitz and Novi. The prince of Baden, who commanded the Imperialists on that side, having thrown a bridge over the Morava at Passarowitz, crossed that river. and marched in quest of a Turkish army, amounting to fifty thousand men, headed by a seraskier. the thirteenth day of August he attacked the enemy in their entrenchments near Patochin, and forced their lines, routed them with great flaughter, and took poffession of their camp, baggage, and artillery. They returned to Nissa, where the general, finding them still more numerous than the Imperialists, resolved to make a stand; and encamped in a situation that was inaccessible in every part except the rear, which he left open for the convenience of a retreat. Through this avenue, he was, on the twenty-fourth day of September, attacked by the prince of Baden, who, after a desperate refistance, obtained another complete victory, enriched his troops with the spoil of the enemy, and entered Nissa without opposition. There he found above three thousand horses, and a vast quantity of provision. Having reposed his army for a few days in this place, he refumed his march against the Turks, who had chefen an advantageous post at Widen, and seemed ambitious of retrieving the honour they had left in the two former engagements. The Germans attacked their lines without hefitation; and though the Musfulmen fought with incredible fury, they were a third time defeated with great flaughter. This defeat was attended with the loss of Widen; which being furrendered to the victor, he distributed his troops into winter-quarters, and returned to Vienna, covered with laurels.

§ VI. The French were likewise bassled in their attempt upon Catalonia, where the duke de Noailles had taken Campredon, in the month of May. Leaving a garrison in this place, he retreated to the frontiers of France, while the duke de Villa Hermosa, at the head of a Spanish army, blocked up the place, and laid Roufillon under contribution. He afterwards undertook the siege in form, and Noailles marched to its relief; but

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he was fo hard preffed by the Spaniards, that he withdrew the garrison, difmantled the place, and retreated with great precipitation. The French king hoped to derive some considerable advantage from the death of pope Innocent XI. which happened on the twelfth day of August. That pontiff had been an inveterate enemy to Louis ever fince the affair of the franchifes, and the feizure of Avignon *. Cabals were immediately formed at Rome by the French faction against the Spanish and Imperial interest. The French cardinals de Bouillon and Bonzi, accompanied by Furstemberg, repaired to Rome with a large fum of money. Peter Ottoboni, a Venetian, was elected pope, and assumed the name of Alexander VIII. The duke de Chaulnes, ambassador from France, immediately fignified, in the name of his mafter, that Avignon should be restored to the patrimony of the church; and Louis renounced the franchises, in a letter written by his own hand to the pontiff. Alexander received these marks of respect with the warmest acknowledgments; but when the ambassador and Furstemberg befought him to re-examine the election of the bishop of Cologn, which had been the fource of fo much calamity to the empire, he lent a deaf ear to their folicitations. He even confirmed the dispensations granted by his predecessor to the prince of Bavaria, who was thus empowered to take possession of the electorate, though he had not yet attained the age required by the canons. Furstemberg retired in difgust to Paris; where Louis immediately gratified him with the abbey of St. Germains.

§ VII. King William found it an easier task to unite the councils of Europe against the common enemy than to conciliate and preserve the affection of his own subjects; among whom he began visibly to decline in point of popularity. Many were dissatisfied with his measures; and a great number even of those who exerted themselves for his elevation, had conceived a disgust from his perforal deportment, which was very unsuitable to the

^{*} See note [D] at the end of the volume.

manners and disposition of the English people. Instead of mingling with his nobility in focial amusements and familiar conversation, he maintained a disagreeable referve, which had all the air of fullen pride: He feldom or never spoke to his courtiers or attendants; he spent his time chiefly in the closet, retired from all communication, or among his troops, in a camp he had formed at Hounflow; or in the exercise of hunting, to which he was immoderately addicted. This had been prescribed to him by physicians as necessary to improve his conflitution, which was naturally weak, and by practice had become fo habitual, that he could not lay it aside. His ill health, co-operating with his natural aversion to society, produced a peevishness which could not fail of being displeasing to those who were near his person: This was encreased by the disputes in his cabinet, and the opposition of those who were professed enemies to his government, as well as by the alienation of his former friends. As he could not breathe without difficulty in the air of London, he resided chiesly at Hampton-Court, and expended confiderable fums in beautifying and enlarging that palace: He likewise purchased the house at Kensington of the earl of Nottingham; and fuch profusion, in the beginning of an expenfive war, gave umbrage to the nation in general. Whether he was advifed by his counfellors, or his own fagacity pointed out the expediency of conforming with the English humour, he now seemed to change his disposition, and in some manner adopt the manners of his pre-In imitation of Charles II. he reforted to the races at Newmarket: He accepted an invitation to visit Cambridge, where he behaved himself with remarkable affability to the members of the university: He afterwards dined with the lord-mayor of London, accepted the freedom of the city, and condescended so far as to become fovereign-mafter of the company of grocers.

§ VIII. While William thus endeavoured to remove the prejudices which had been conceived against his perfon, the period arrived which the parliament had prescribed for taking the oaths to the new government. Some individuals of the clergy facrificed their benefices to

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to their scruples of conscience; and absolutely refused to take oaths that were contrary to those they had already fworn in favour of their late fovereign. These were distinguished by the epithet of Nonjurors: But their number hore a very small proportion to that of others, who took them with fuch refervations and distinctions as redounded very little to the honour of their integrity. Many of those who had been the warmest advocates for nonrefistance and passive obedience, made no scruple of renouncing their allegiance to king James, and complying with the present act, after having declared that they took the oaths in no other fense than that of a peaceable submission to the powers that were. They even affirmed that the legislature itself had allowed the distinction between a king de facto and a king de jure, as they had dropped the word "rightful," when the form was under debate. They alledged, that as prudence obliged them to conform to the letter of the oath, fo conscience required them to give it their own interpretation. Nothing could be more infamous, and of worfe tendency, than this practice of equivocating in the most facred of all obligations. It introduced a general difregard of oaths, which hath been the fource of univerfal perjury and corruption. Though this fet of temporizers were bitterly upbraided both by the nonjurors and the papifts, they all concurred in representing William as an enemy to the church; as a prince educated in the doctrines of Calvin, which he plainly espoused, by limiting his fayour and preferment to fuch as were latitudinarians in religion, and by his abolishing episcopacy in Scotland. The presbyterians in that kingdom now tyrannized in their turn. They were headed by the earl of Crawford; a nobleman of a violent temper and strong prejudices. He was chosen president of the parliament by the interest of Melvil, and oppressed the episcopalians in such a manner, that the greater part of them, from refentment, became wellwishers to king James. Every circumstance of the hardships they underwent was reported in England; and the earl of Clarendon, as well as the suspended bishops, circulated these particulars with great affiduity.

The oaths being rejected by the archbishop of Canter-bury, the bishops of Ely, Chichester, Bath and Wells, Peterborough and Gloucester, they were suspended from their functions, and threatened with deprivation. Lake of Chichester, being seized with a dangerous distemper, signed a solemn declaration, in which he professed his adherence to the doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience; which he believed to be the distinguishing characteristic of the church of England. After his death this paper was published, industriously circulated, and extolled by the party as an inspired oracle, pronounced by a martyr to religious truth and sincerity.

& IX. All the clamour that was raifed against the king could not divert him from profecuting the scheme of comprehension. He granted a commission under the great feal to ten bishops, and twenty dignitaries of the church, authorifing them to meet, from time to time, in the Jerusalem-chamber, to prepare such alterations of the liturgy and the canons, and fuch proposals for the reformation of ecclefiaftical courts as might most conduce to the good order, edification, and uniting of the church, and tend to reconcile all religious differences among the protestant subjects of the kingdom. A cry was immediately raised against this commission, as an ecclesiastical court illegal and dangerous. At their first meeting, the authority of the commission was questioned by Sprat, bishop of Rochester, who retired in disgust, and was followed by Mew, of Winchester, and the doctors Jane and Aldrich. These were averse to any alteration of the forms and conflitution of the church in favour of an infolent and obstinate party, which ought to have been fatisfied with the toleration they enjoyed. They obferved, that an attempt to make such alteration would divide the clergy, and bring the liturgy into difesteem with the people, as it would be a plain acknowledgement that it wanted correction. They thought they should violate the dignity of the church by condescending to make offers which the differers were at liberty to refuse; and they suspected some of their colleagues of fio of eve

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es of efign a defign to give up episcopal ordination—a step inconsistent with their honour, duty, oaths, and subscriptions.

& X. The commissioners, notwithstanding this secesfion, proceeded to debate with moderation on the abuses of which the diffenters had complained, and corrected every article that seemed liable to any just objection; but the opposite party employed all their art and industry to inflame the minds of the people. The two universities declared against all alterations, and those who promoted them. The king himself was branded as an enemy to the hierarchy; and they bestirred themselves so successfully in the election of members for the convocation, that they procured a very confiderable majority. their first meeting, the friends of the comprehensionscheme proposed Dr. Tillotson, clerk of the closet to his majesty, as prolocutor; but the other party carried it in favour of Dr. Jane, who was counted the most violent churchman in the whole affembly. In a Latin fpeech to the bishop of London, as president, he, in the name of the lower house, afferted, that the liturgy of England needed no amendment; and concluded with the old declaration of the barons, " Nolumus leges Anglice "mutari. We will not fuffer the laws of England to be changed.' The bishop, in his reply, exhorted them to moderation, charity, and indulgence towards their brethren the diffeners, and to make fuch abatements in things indifferent, as might ferve to open a door of falvation to multitudes of straying christians. His injunctions, however, produced no favourable effect. lower house seemed to be animated by a spirit of opposition. Next day the president prorogued them, on pretence that the royal commission, by which they were to act, was defective for want of being sealed, and that a prorogation was necessary until that fanction should be obtained. In this interval, means were used to mollify their noncompliant tempers; but all endeavours proved ineffectual. When they met again, the earl of Nottingham delivered the king's commission to both houses, with a speech of his own, and a message from his majesty, importing, that he had summoned them out

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of a pious zeal to do every thing that might tend to the best establishment of the church of England, which should always enjoy his favour and protection. He exhorted them to lay aside all prejudice, and consider calmly and impartially whatever should be proposed: He assured them he would offer nothing but what should be for the honour, peace, and advantage of the protestant religion in general, and particularly of the church of

England.

& XI. The bishops, adjourning to the Jerusalem. chamber, prepared a zealous address of thanks to his majesty; which, being sent to the lower house for their concurrence, met with violent opposition. Amendments were proposed: A conference ensued; and, after warm debates, they agreed upon a cold address, which was accordingly presented. The majority of the lower house, far from taking any measures in favour of diffenters, converted all their attention to the relief of their nonjuring brethren. Zealous speeches were made in behalf of the suspended bishops; and Dr. Jane proposed that something might be done to qualify them to fit in the con-This, however, was fuch a dangerous point yocation. as they would not venture to discuss; yet, rather than proceed upon the business for which they had been assembled, they began to take cognizance of some pamphlets lately published, which they conceived to be of dangerous consequence to the christian religion. The prefident and his party, perceiving the disposition of the house, did not think proper to communicate any propofal touching the intended reformation; and the king fuffered the session to be discontinued by repeated prorogations.

§ XII. The parliament meeting on the nineteenth day of October, the king, in a speech of his own composing, explained the necessity of a present supply to carry on the war. He desired that they might be speedy in their determinations on this subject; for these would, in a great measure, instructed the deliberations of the princes and states concerned in the war against France, as a general meeting of them was appointed to be held

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next month at the Hague, to fettle the operations of the enfuing campaign. He concluded with recommending the dispatch of a bill of indemnity, that the minds of his subjects might be quieted, and that they might unanimoully concur in promoting the honour and welfare of the kingdom. As feveral inflammatory bills and difputes, which had produced heats and animolities in the last session, were still depending, the king, after having consulted both houses, resolved to put an end to those disputes by a prorogation. He accordingly went to the house of lords, and prorogued the parliament till the twenty-first day of October, by the mouth of the new foeaker, fir Robert Atkins, the marquis of Hallifax having refigned that office. When they reassembled, the king referred them to his former speech: Then the commons unanimously resolved to assist his majesty in reducing Ireland, and in joining with his allies abroad for a vigorous profecution of the war against France: For these purposes they voted a supply of two millions.

& XIII. During this fession the Whigs employed all their influence and intrigues in obstructing the bill of indemnity, which they knew would open a door for fayour and preferment to the opposite party, which began to gain ground in the king's good graces. With this view they revived the profecution of the state prisoners. A committee was appointed to prepare a charge against Burton and Graham. The commons refolved to impeach the earls of Peterborough, Salisbury, and Castlemain, fir Edward Hales, and Obadiah Walker, of high-treason, for having been reconciled to the church of Rome, contrary to the laws of the realm. A bill was ordered to be brought in, to declare the estate of the late lord chancellor Jefferies forfeited to the crown, and attaint his blood; but it met with fuch opposition, that the meafure was dropped: The house however agreed, that the pecuniary penalties incurred by those persons who had exercised offices contrary to the laws against popish recufants, should be speedily levied, and applied to the public service. The lord Griffin, being detected in main-F 2 taining

taining a correspondence with king James and his partizans, was committed to the Tower; but, as no other evidence appeared against him than written letters, found in the false bottom of a pewter bottle, they could not help confenting to his being released upon bail, as they had lately resolved that Algernon Sydney was unjustly condemned in the reign of Charles II. because nothing but writings had been produced against him at his trial. The two houses concurred in appointing a committee to enquire who were the advisers and prosecutors in taking away the lives of lord Ruffel, colonel Sydney, fir Thomas Armstrong, alderman Cornish, and others; and who were chiefly concerned in the arbitrary practices touching the writs of quo warranto, and the furrender of charters. This enquiry was levelled at the marquis of Hallifax, who had concurred with the ministry of Charles in all thefe feverities. Though no proof appeared upon which votes or addresses could be founded, that nobleman faw it was necessary for him to withdraw himself from the administration; he, therefore, refigned the privy-feal, which was put in commission, and reconciled himself to the Tories, of whom he became the patron and protector.

XIV. The commons likewife refumed the examination of the miscarriages in Ireland; and defired the king would appoint commissioners to go over and enquire into the condition of the army in that kingdom. Schomberg, understanding that he had been blamed in the house of commons for his inactivity, transmitted to the king a fatisfactory vindication of his own conduct; and it appeared that the miscarriages in Ireland were wholly owing to John Shales, purveyor-general to the army. The commons immediately prefented an address to his majesty, praying that Shales might be taken into custody; that all his papers, accounts, and stores should be fecured; and that duke Schomberg might be empowered to fill his place with a more able purveyor. The king gave them to understand, that he had already fent orders to the general for that purpose. Nevertheless they, in another petition, requested his majesty to name thole

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those who had recommended Shales to his service, as he had exercised the same office under king James, and was fulpected of treasonable practices against the government. William declined gratifying their request; but he afterwards fent a meffage to the house, defiring them to recommend a certain number of commissioners to superintend fuch provisions and preparations as might be necesfary for that fervice, as well as to nominate certain perfons to go over and examine the state of the army in Ireland. The commons were to mollified by this instance of his condescension, that they left the whole affair to his own discretion, and proceeded to examine other branches of misconduct. Instances of mismanagement appeared fo numerous and fo flagrant, that they refolved upon a subsequent address, to explain the ill conduct and fuccess of his army and navy; to desire he would find out the author of these miscarriages, and for the future entrust unsuspected persons with the management of affairs. They ordered the victuallers of the fleet to be taken into custody, on suspicion of their having furnished the navy with unwholesome provisions; and new commissioners were appointed. Bitter reproaches were thrown out against the ministry. Mr. Hambden expressed his furprise that the administration should confist of those very persons whom king James had employed, when his affairs were desperate, to treat with the prince of Orange; and moved, That the king should be petitioned in an address to remove fuch persons from his presence and councils. This was a stroke aimed at the earl of Nottingham, whose office of fecretary. Hambden defired to posses; but his motion was not feconded, the court-members observing, that James did not depute those lords to the prince of Orange because they were attached to his own interest, but for a very different reason, namely, That they were well known to disapprove of his measures, and therefore would be the more agreeable to his highness. The house, however, voted an address to the king, desiring that the authors of the miscarriages might be brought to condign punishment.

§ XV. In the sequel the question was proposed,

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Whether a placeman ought to have a feat in the house? and a very warm debate enfued; but it was carried in the affirmative, on the supposition, that by such exclusion the commonwealth would be deprived of some of the ablest senators of the kingdom. But what chiefly irritated William against the Whigs was their backwardness in promoting the public fervice, and their difregard of the earnest desire he expressed to see his revenue settled for life. He faid his title was no more than a pageant; and the worst of all governments was that of a king without treasure. Nevertheless, they would not grant the civil list for a longer term than one year. They began to think there was fomething arbitrary in his difposition. His fullen behaviour, in all probability, first infused this opinion, which was strengthened and confirmed by the infinuations of his enemies. The Scots, who had come up to London to give an account of the proceedings in their parliament, were infected with the fame notion. One Simpson, a presbyterian of that country, whom the earl of Portland employed as a fpy, had infinuated himself into the confidence of Nevil Payne, an active and intelligent partifan and agent of king James; by which means he supplied the earl with such intelligence as raifed him to some degree of credit with that minister. This he used in prepossessing the carl against the king's best friends, and infusing jealousies; which were foon kindled into mutual distrust and animofity.

§ XVI. Sir James Montgomery, who had been a warm advocate for the revolution, received advice that the court suspected him and others of disaffection; and was employed in seeking evidence by which they might be prosecuted They were equally alarmed and incensed at this intimation; and Payne seized the opportunity of seducing them into a correspondence with the exiled king. They demanded the settlement of presbytery in Scoland, and actually engaged in a treaty for his restoration. They reconciled themselves to the duke of Queensberry, and the other noblemen of the episcopal party: They wrote to James for a supply of money,

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arms, and ammunition, together with a reinforcement of three thousand men from Dunkirk. Montgomery had acquired great interest among the Whigs of England; and this he employed in animating them against the king and the ministry. He represented them as a set of wicked men, who employed infamous spies to enfare and ruin the fast friends of the government; and found means to alienate them fo much from William, that they began to think in earnest of recalling their banished prince. The duke of Bolton and the earl of Monmouth were almost persuaded into a conspiracy for this purpose; they feemed to think James was now fo well convinced of his former errors, that they might trust him without scruple. Montgomery and Payne were the chief managers of the scheme; and they admitted Ferguson into their councils, as a veteran in the arts of treason. In order to blast William's credit in the city, they circulated a report that James would grant a full indemnity, separate himself entirely from the French interest, and be contented with a fecret connivance in favour of the Roman catholics. Montgomery's brother affured the bishop of Salifbury that a treaty with James was absolutely concluded, and an invitation subscribed by the whole cabal. faid, this paper would be fent to Ireland by the way of France, as the direct communication was difficult; and he proposed a method for seizing it before it should be Williamson, the supconveyed out of the kingdom. posed bearer of it, had obtained a pass for Flanders; and a messenger being sent in pursuit of him, secured his clothes and portmanteau; but, after a very ftrict examination, nothing appeared to justify the intelligence. Williamson had previously delivered the papers to Simpion, who hired a boat at Deal, and arrived in fafety at He returned with large affurances; and twelve thousand pounds were remitted to the Scottish undertakers. Montgomery, the informer, feeing his intelligence falfified, loft his credit with the bishop; and, dreading the refentment of the other party, retired to the continent. The conspirators loudly complained of the false imputations they had incurred. The pretended discoveries discoveries were looked upon as fictions of the ministry; and the king, on this occasion, suffered greatly in the

opinion of his fubjects.

& XVII. The Tories still continued to carry on a fecret negociation with the court. They took advantage of the ill-humour fubfifting between the king and the Whigs; and promifed large supplies of money, provided this parliament should be dissolved and another immediately convoked. The opposite party, being apprized of their intention, brought a bill into the house of commons for restoring corporations to their ancient rights and privileges. They knew their own strength at elections confifted in these corporations; and they inserted two additional fevere clauses against those who were in any shape concerned in furrendering charters. The whole power of the Tories was exerted against this clause; and now the Whigs vied with them in making court to his majefty, promifing to manifest the most submissive obedience, should this bill be enacted into a law. The strength of the Tories was now become so formidable to the house, that they outvoted the other party, and the clauses were rejected; but the bill passed in its original form. The lords debated upon the point, Whether a corporation could be forfeited or furrendered? Lord chief-justice Holt and two other judges declared their opinion in the affirmative; the rest thought otherwise, as no precedents could be produced farther back than the reign of Henry VIII. when the abbies were furrendered: And this instance seemed too violent to authorise such a measure in a regular course of administration. The bill, however, passed by one voice only. Then both parties quickened their applications to the king, who found himfelf fo perplexed and distracted between two factions, which he equally feared, that he refolved to leave the government in the queen's hands, and retire to Holland. He communicated this design to the marquis of Caermarthen, the earl of Shrewsbury, and some other noblemen; who pressed him to lav aside his resolution, and even mingled tears with their remonstrances.

§ XVIII. He at length complied with their request,

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and determined to finish the Irish war in person. This defign was far from being agreeable to the parliament. His friends dreaded the climate of that country, which might prove fatal to his weak constitution. The wellwishers of James were afraid of that prince's being hard pressed, should William take the field against him in person: Both houses, therefore, began to prepare an address against this expedition. In order to prevent this remonstrance, the king went to the parliament, and formally fignified his resolution. After his speech they were prorogued to the fecond day of April. On the fixth day of February they were diffolved by proclamation, and a new parliament was fummoned to meet on the twentieth day of March. During this felfion the commons, in an address to the king, desired that a revenue of fifty thousand pounds might be settled upon the prince and princess of Denmark, out of the civil lift; and his majesty gratified them in this particular: Yet the warmth and industry with which the friends of the princess exerted themselves in promoting the settlement, produced a coldness and misunderstanding between the two fifters: and the subsequent disgrace of the earl of Marlborough was imputed to the part which his wife acted on the occasion. She was lady of the bedchamber, and chief confident to the princefs, whom the strenuously advised to infift upon the settlement, rather than depend upon the generofity of the king and queen.

§ XIX. About this period, general Ludlow, who at the restoration had been excepted from the act of indemnity, as one of those who sat in judgment upon Charles I. arrived in England, and offered his service in reducing Ireland; where he had formerly commanded. Though a rigid republican, he was reputed a conscientious man, and a good officer. He had received some encouragement to come over; and probably would have been employed, had not the commons interposed. Sir Edward Seymour, who enjoyed by grant an estate in Wiltshire, which had formerly belonged to Ludlow, began to be in pain for his possession. He observed in

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the house, that the nation would be disgraced, should one of the parricides be suffered to live in the kingdom. An address was immediately presented to the king, defiring a proclamation might be issued, promising a reward for apprehending general Ludlow. This was accordingly published; but not before he had landed in Holland, from whence he returned to Vevay, in Swisferland, where he wrote the memoirs of his life, and

died after an exile of thirty years.

§ XX. While king William fluctuated between two parties in England, his interest in Scotland had well nigh given way to a coalition between the original Jacobites and Montgomery's party of discontented presbyterians. Co. lonel Cannon, who fucceeded the viscount Dundee in command, after having made feveral unfuccessful efforts in favour of the late king's interest, retired into Ireland; and the Highlanders chose fir Hugh Cameron for their leader. Under him they renewed their incursions with the better prospect of success, as several regiments of the regular troops had been fent to reinforce the army of Schomberg. James affifted them with clothes, arms, and ammunition, together with some officers, amongst whom was colonel Bucan, appointed to act as their chief commander. This officer, at the head of fifteen hundred men, advanced into the shire of Murray, in hopes of being joined by other malcontents: But he was surprised and routed by fir Thomas Livingstone, while major Ferguson destroyed the places they possessed in the life of Mull; so that the Highlanders were obliged to retire, and conceal themselves among their hills and fastnesses. The friends of James, despairing of doing any thing effectual for his service in the field, converted all their attention to the proceedings in parliament; where they imagined their interest was much stronger than it appeared to be upon trial. They took the oaths without hesitation, and hoped, by the affistance of their new allies, to embroil the government in fuch a manner that the majority of the people would declare for a restoration. But the views of the new-cemented parties were altogether incompatible; and their principles diametrically oppolite.

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posite. Notwithstanding their concurrence in parliament, the earl of Melvil procured a small majority. The opposition was immediately discouraged: Some individuals retracted, rather than fall with a sinking cause; and mutual jealousies began to prevail. The leaders of the coalition treated separately with king James; made inconsistent demands; reciprocally concealed their negociation. In a word, they distrusted, and hated one another with the most implacable resentment.

§ XXI. The earls of Argyle, Anandale, and Braidalbin, withdrew from their council, and repaired to England. Montgomery, terrified at their defection, went privately to London, after he had hinted fomething of the plot to Melvil, and folicited a pass from the queen, which was refused. Anandale, having received information that Montgomery had disclosed all the particulars of the negociation, threw himfelf upon the queen's mercy, and discovered all he knew of the conspiracy. As he had not treated with any of the malcontents in England, they remained fecure from his evidence; but he informed against Nevil Payne, who had been sent down as their agent to Scotland, where he now refided. He was immediately apprehended by the council of that kingdom, in consequence of a letter from the earl of Nottingham; and twice put to the torture, which he resolutely bore, without discovering his employers. Montgomery still absconded in London, foliciting a pardon; but, finding he could not obtain it, except on condition of making a full discovery, he abandoned his country, and chose to die in exile rather than betray his confederates. This difunion of the conspirators, and discovery of the plot, left the earl of Melvil in possession of a greater majority; though even this he was fain to fecure by overstraining his instructions in the articles of patronage, and the supremacy of the crown, which he yielded up to the fury of the fanatic presbyterians, contrary to the intention of king William. In lieu of these, however, they indulged him with the tax of chimney or hearth-money; as well as with a test to be imposed upon all persons in office and parliament,

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parliament, declaring William and Mary their lawful fovereigns, and renouncing the pretended title of king James. All the laws in favour of episcopacy were repealed. Threescore of the presbyterian ministers, who had been ejected at the restoration, were still alive; and those the parliament declared the only sound part of the church. The government of it was lodged in their hands; and they were impowered to admit such as they should think proper, to their assistance. A few surious fanatics being thus associated, proceeded with ungovernable violence to persecute the episcopal party, exercising the very same tyranny against which they themselves had

to loudly exclaimed.

1690. § XXII. While the presbyterian interest thus triumphed in Scotland, the two parties that divided England employed their whole influence and attention in managing the elections for a new parliament; and the Tories obtained the victory. The king feemed gradually falling into the arms of this party. They complained of their having been totally excluded from the lieutenantcy of London at the king's accession to the crown; and now a confiderable number of the most violent Tories in the city were admitted into the commission by the interest and address of the bishop of London, the marquis of Caermarthen, and the earl of Nottingham. To gratify that party, the earls of Monmouth and Warrington were difinisfed from their employments: Nay, when the parliament met on the twentieth day of March, the commons chose for their speaker fir John Trevor; a violent partifan of that faction, who had been created master of the rolls by the late king. He was a bold, artful man, and undertook to procure a majority to be at the devotion of the court, provided he should be supplied with the necessary fums for the purposes of corruption. William, finding there was no other way of maintaining his administration in peace, thought proper to countenance the practice of purchasing votes; and appointed Trevor first commissioner of the great seal. In his Tpeech to the new parliament he gave them to understand, that he still persisted in his resolution of going awful

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in person to Ireland. He defired they would make a fettlement of the revenue, or establish it for the present, as a fund of credit, upon which the necessary sums for the fervice of the government might be immediately advanced: He fignified his intention of fending them an act of grace, with a few exceptions, that he might manifest his readiness to extend his protection to all his subjects, and leave no colour of excuse for raising disturbances in his absence; as he knew how busy some illaffected men were in their endeavours to alter the establiffed government: He recommended an union with Scotland, the parliament of which had appointed commissioners for that purpose: He told them he should leave the administration in the hands of the queen, and defired they would prepare an act to confirm her authority: He exhorted them to dispatch the business for which they were affembled, to avoid debates, and expressed his hope that they should soon meet again, to

finish what might be now left imperfect.

§ XXIII. The commons, in compliance with his request, voted a supply of twelve hundred thousand pounds; one million of that fum to be raifed by a clause of credit in the revenue bill: But he could not prevail upon them to fettle the revenue for life. They granted, however, the hereditary excise for that term; but the customs for four years only. They considered this short term as the best security the kingdom could have for frequent parliaments; though this precaution was not at all agreeable to their fovereign. A poll-bill was likewise passed; other supplies were granted; and both parties feemed to court his majesty, by advancing money on those funds of credit. The Whigs, however, had another battery in referve. They produced, in the upper house, a bill for recognizing their majesties as the rightful and lawful fovereigns of these realms, and for declaring all the acts of the last parliament to be good and valid. The Tories were now reduced to a very perplexed fituation. They could not oppose the bill without hazarding the interest they had so lately acquired, nor affent to it without folemnly renouncing their former G arguments

arguments and distinctions. They made no great ob. jections to the first part; and even proposed to enact, That those should be deemed good laws for the time to come; but they refused to declare them valid for that time which was past. After a long debate, the bill was committed; yet the Whigs loft their majority on the report; nevertheless, the bill was recovered, and passed with fome alteration in the words, in confequence of a nervous, spirited protest, signed Bolton, Macclessield, Stamford, Newport, Bedford, Herbert, Suffolk, Mon. mouth, Delamere, and Oxford. The whole interest of the court was thrown into the scale with this bill, before it would prependerate against the Tories, the chiefs of whom, with the earl of Nottingham at their head, protested in their turn. The same party in the house of commons were determined upon a vigorous opposition; and in the mean time fome trifling objections were made, that it might be committed for amendment; but their delign was prematurely discovered by one of the faction, who chanced to question the legality of the convention, as it was not fummoned by the king's writ. This infinuation was answered by Somers, the folicitor-general, who observed, that if it was not a legal parliament, they who were then met, and who had taken the oaths enacted by that parliament, were guilty of high-treason: The laws repealed by it were still in force: It was their duty, therefore, to return to king James; and all concerned in collecting and paying the money levied by the acts of that parliament were highly criminal. The Tories were fo ftruck with these arguments, that the bill passed without further opposition, and immediately received the royal affent. Thus the fettlement was confirmed by those very people who had so loudly exclaimed against it as illegal: But the Whigs, with all their management, would not have gained their point, had not the court been interested in the dispute.

§ XXIV. There was another violent contest between the two parties, on the import of a bill requiring all subjects in office to abjure king James, on pain of imprisonment. Though the clergy were exempt at first

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from this test, the main body of the Tories opposed it with great vehemence; while the Whigs, under countenance of the ministry, supported it with equal vigor. It produced long and violent debates; and the two factions feemed pretty equally balanced. At length, the Tories represented to the king, that a great deal of precious time would be lost in fruitless altercation: That those who declared against the bill would grow fullen and intractable, fo as to oppose every other motion that might be made for the king's fervice: That, in case of its being carried, his majesty must fall again into the hands of the Whigs, who would renew their former practices against the prerogative; and many individuals, who were now either well affected to him, or at least neutral, would become Jacobites from refentment. These fuggestions had such weight with king William, that he fent an intimation to the commons, defiring they would drop the debate, and proceed to matters that were more pressing. The Whigs in general were disgusted at this interpolition; and the earl of Shrewsbury, who had interested himself warmly in behalf of the bill, referred it so deeply, that he insisted on resigning his office of secretary of state. The king, who revered his talents and integrity, employed Dr. Tillotson and others, who were supposed to have credit with the earl, to disfuade him from quitting his employment: But he continued deaf to all their remonstrances, and would not even comply with the request of his majesty, who pressed him to keep the feals until he should return from Ireland. Long debates were likewise managed in the house of lords upon the bill of abjuration, or rather an oath of special fidelity to William, in opposition to James. The Tories professed themselves willing to enter into a negative engagement against the late king and his adherents: But they opposed the oath of abjuration with all their might; and the house was so equally divided, that neither fide was willing to hazard a decision: So that all the fruit of their debates was a prolongation of the

§ XXV. An act was prepared for investing the queen with

with the administration during the king's absence; an. other for reverling the judgment on a quo warranto against the city of London, and restoring it to its ancient rights and privileges; and at length, the bill of indem. nity, so cordially recommended by the king, passed both houses *. On the twenty-first day of May the king closed the fession with a short speech, in which he thanked them for the supplies they had granted; and recommended to them a punctual discharge of their duties in their respective counties, that the peace of the nation might not be interrupted in his absence. The houses were adjourned to the seventh day of July; when the parliament was prorogued and adjourned fuccessively. As a further fecurity for the peace of the kingdom, the deputy-lieutenants were authorised to raise the militia in case of necessity, All papifts were prohibited to ftir above five miles from their respective places of abode: A proclamation was published for apprehending certain disaffected persons: Sir John Cochran and Ferguson were actually arrested, on suspicion of treasonable practices. On the fourth day of June the king set out for Ireland, attended by prince George of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, the earls of Oxford, Scarborough, Manchester, and many other persons of distinction: On the fourteenth day of the month he landed at Carrickfergus, from whence he immediately proceeded to Belfast, where he was met by the duke of Schomberg, the prince of Wirtemberg, major-general Kirke, and other officers. By this time colonel Wolfey, at the head of a thousand men, had defeated a strong detachment of the enemy near Belturbat: Sir John Lanier had taken Bedloe-castle; and that of Charlemont, a strong post of great importance, together with Balingargy, near Cavan, had been reduced. King William having reposed himself for two or three days at Belfast, visited the duke's head-quarters at Lisburne; then advancing to Hillsborough, published an order against pressing horses, and committing violence on the country-people. When some of his general-officers pro-

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^{*} See note [E] at the end of the volume.

posed cautious measures, he declared he did not come to Ireland to let the grass grow under his feet. He ordered the army to encamp and be reviewed at Loughbrilland; where he found it amounted to fix-and-thirty thousand effective men, well appointed. Then he marched to Dundalk; and afterwards advanced to Ardee, which

the enemy had just abandoned.

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& XXVI. King James trusted fo much to the disputes in the English parliament, that he did not believe his fon-in-law would be able to quit that kingdom; and William had been fix days in Ireland before he received intimation of his arrival. This was no fooner known, than he left Dublin under the guard of the militia, commanded by Luttrel, and with a reinforcement of fix thousand infantry, which he had lately received from France, joined the rest of his forces, which now almost equalled William's army in number, exclusive of about fifteen thousand men who remained in different garrifons. He occupied a very advantageous post on the bank of the Boyne, and, contrary to the advice of his general officers, refolved to stand battle. They proposed to strengthen their garrisons, and retire to the Shannon, to wait the effect of the operations at fea. Louis had promifed to equip a powerful armament against the English fleet; and send over a great number of small frigates to destroy William's transports, as foon as their convoy should be returned to England. The execution of this scheme was not at all difficult, and must have proved fatal to the English army; for their stores and ammunition were still on board; the ships lailed along the coast as the troops advanced in their march; and there was not one fecure harbour into which they could retire on any emergency. James, however, was bent upon hazarding an engagement; and expressed uncommon confidence and alacrity. Besides the river, which was deep, his front was fecured by a morafs and a ring ground; fo that the English army could not attack him without manifest disadvantage.

§ XXVII. King William marched up to the opposite bank of the river; and, as he reconnoitred their situation, was exposed to the fire of some sield-pieces, which the

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enemy purposely planted against his person. They killed a man and two horses close by him; and the second bul. let, rebounding from the earth, grazed upon his right shoulder, so as to carry off part of his clothes and skin, and produce a confiderable contusion. This accident. which he bore without the least emotion, created some confusion among his attendants, which the enemy perceiving, concluded he was killed, and shouted aloud in token of their joy. The whole camp refounded with acclamation; and feveral fquadrons of their horse were drawn down towards the river, as if they had intended to pass it immediately, and attack the English army, The report was instantly communicated from place to place, until it reached Dublin; from thence it was conveyed to Paris, where, contrary to the custom of the French court, the people were encouraged to celebrate the event with bonfires and illuminations, William rode along the line to show himself to the army after this narrow escape. At night he called a council of war; and declared his resolution to a tack the enemy in the morning. Schomberg at first opposed his design; but finding the king determined, he advised that a strong detachment of horse and foot should that night pass the Boyne at Slane bridge, and take post between the enemy and the pass of Duleck, that the action might be more decifive. This council being rejected, the king deterinimed that, early in the morning, lieutenant-general Douglas, with the right wing of infantry, and young Schomberg with the horse, should pass at Slane-bridge, while the main body of foot should force their passage at Old-bridge, and the left at certain fords between the enemy's camp and Drogheda. The duke, perceiving his advice was not relished by the Dutch generals, 12. tired to his tent; where the order of battle being brought to him, he received it with an air of discontent, saying, it was the first that had ever been sent to him in that manner. The proper dispositions being made, William rode quite through the army by torch-light, and then retired to his tent, after having given orders for the foldiers to distinguish themselves from the enemy by wearing green boughs in their hats during the action.

& XXVIII. At fix o'clock in the morning general Douglas, with young Schomberg, the earl of Portland, and Auverquerque, marched towards Slane-bridge, and passed the river with very little opposition. When they reached the farther bank, they perceived the enemy drawn up in two lines, to a confiderable number of horse and foot, with a morass in their front; so that Douglas was obliged to wait for a reinforcement. This being arrived, the infantry was led to the charge through the morals, while count Schomberg rode round it with his cavalry, to attack the enemy in flank. The Irish, instead of waiting the affault, faced about, and retreated towards Duleck with some precipitation; yet not so fast but that Schomberg fell in among their rear, and did confiderable execution. King James, however, foon reinforced his left wing from the centre; and the count was in his turn obliged to send for affistance. At this juncture, king William's main body, confifting of the Dutch guards, the French regiments, and some battalions of English, passed the river, which was waist high, under a general discharge of artillery. King James had imprudently removed his cannon from the other fule; but he had posted a strong body of musqueteers along the bank, behind hedges, houses, and some works raised for the occasion. These poured in a close fire upon the English troops before they reached the shore; but it produced very little effect: Then the Irish gave way; and fome battalions landed without further opposition. Yet, before they could form, they were charged with great impetuofity by a fquadron of the enemy's horse; and a considerable body of their cavalry and foot, commanded by general Hamilton, advanced from behind fome little hillocks to attack those that were landed, as well as to prevent the rest from reaching the shore. His infantry turned their backs and fled immediately; but the horse charged with incredible fury, both upon the bank and in the river, fo as to put the unformed regiments in confusion. Then the duke of Schomberg passed the river in person, put himself at the head of the French

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French protestants, and pointing to the enemy, "Gen-"tlemen (faid he) those are your persecutors." With these words he advanced to the attack, where he himself sustained a violent onset from a party of the Irish horse. which had broke through one of the regiments, and were now on their return. They were mistaken for English, and allowed to gallop up to the duke, who received two fevere wounds in the head: But the French regiments being now fenfible of their mistake, rashly threw in their fire upon the Irish while they were engaged with the duke; and, instead of faving, shot him dead upon the spot. The fate of this general had well nigh proved fatal to the English army, which was immediately involved in tumult and diforder, while the infantry of king James rallied, and returned to their posts with a face of resolution. They were just ready to fall upon the centre, when king William, having passed with the left wing, composed of the Danish, Dutch, and Inniskillin horse, advanced to attack them on the right. They were struck with such a panic at his appearance, that they made a fudden halt, and then facing about, retreated to the village of Dunore. There they made fuch a vigorous stand, that the Dutch and Danish horse, though headed by the king in person, recoiled; even the Inniskilliners gave way; and the whole wing would have been routed, had not a detachment of dragoons, belonging to the regiment of Cunningham and Levison, difmounted, and lined the hedges on each fide of the defile through which the fugitives were driven. There they did fuch execution upon the purfuers as foon checked their ardor. The horfe, which were broken, had now time to rally, and returning to the charge, drove the enemy before them, in their turn. In this action general Hamilton, who had been the life and foul of the Irifly during the whole of the engagement, was wounded and taken: An incident which discouraged them to such a degree, that they made no further efforts to retrieve the advantage they had loft. He was immediately brought to the king, who asked him if he thought the Irish would make any further refistance; and he replied,

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"Upon my honour I believe they will; for they have "fill a good body of horse entire." William, eyeing him with a look of disdain, repeated, 'Your honour! 'your honour!' but took no other notice of his having acted contrary to his engagement when he was permitted to go to Ireland, on promise of persuading Tyrconnel to submit to the new government. The Irish now abandoned the field with precipitation; but the French and Swiss troops, that acted as their auxiliaries, under Lauzun, retreated in good order, after having maintained the battle for some time with intrepidity and perseverance.

§ XXIX. As king William did not think proper to pursue the enemy, the carnage was not great. Irish lost fifteen hundred men, and the English about one third of that number; though the victory was dearly purchased, considering the death of the gallant duke of Schomberg, who fell in the eighty-fecond year of his age, after having rivalled the best generals of the time in military reputation. He was descended of a noble family in the Palatinate; and his mother was an Englishwoman, daughter of lord Dudley. Being obliged to leave his country on account of the troubles by which it was agitated, he commenced a foldier of fortune, and served successively in the armies of Holland, England, France, Portugal, and Brandenburgh. He attained to the dignities of mareschal in France, grandee in Portugal, generalissimo in Prussia, and duke in England. He professed the protestant religion; was courteous and humble in his deportment; cool, penetrating, refolute, and lagacious; nor was his probity inferior to his courage. This battle likewise proved fatal to the brave Caillemore, who had followed the duke's fortunes, and commanded one of the protestant regiments. After having received a mortal wound, he was carried back through the river by four foldiers; and though almost in the agonies of death, he with a cheerful countenance encouraged those who were croffing to do their duty, exclaiming, " A la "gloire, mes enfans: A la gloire! To glory, my lads: "To glory!" The third remarkable person who lot his

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his life on this occasion was Walker the clergyman, who had so valiantly defended Londonderry against the whole army of king James. He had been very graciously received by king William, who gratified him with a reward of five thousand pounds, and a promise of further favour; but, his military genius still predominating, he attended his royal patron in this battle, and, being shot in the belly, died in a few minutes. The persons of distinction who fell on the other side were the lords Dongan and Carlingford, fir Neile O Neile, and the marquis of Hocquincourt. James himself stood aloof during the action on the hill of Dunmore, furrounded with some squadrons of horse; and seeing victory declare against him, retired to Dublin, without having made the least effort to reassemble his broken forces. Had he possessed either spirit or conduct, his army might have been rallied, and reinforced from his garrisons, so as to be in a condition to keep the field, and even act upon the offensive; for his loss was inconsiderable, and the victor did not attempt to molest his troops in their retreat—an omission which has been charged upon him as a flagrant instance of misconduct. Indeed, through the whole of this engagement, William's personal courage was much more confpicuous than his military skill.

§ XXX. King James no fooner arrived at Dublin than he affembled the magistrates and council of the city, and in a short speech refigned them to the fortune of the victor. He complained of the cowardice of the Irish; fignified his resolution of leaving the kingdom immediately; forbade them, on their allegiance, to burn or plunder the city after his departure; and affured them, that, though he was obliged to yield to force, he would never cease to labour for their deliverance. Next day he fet out for Waterford, attended by the duke of Berwick, Tyrconnel, and the marquis of Powis. He ordered all the bridges to be broken down behind him, and embarked in a veffel which had been prepared for his reception. At fea he fell in with the French squadron, commanded by the Sieur de Foran, who perfuaded him to go on board one of his frigates, which was a prime

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failer. In this he was safely conveyed to France, and returned to the place of his former residence at St. Germain's. He had no sooner quitted Dublin, than it was also abandoned by all the papists. The protestants immediately took possession of the arms belonging to the militia, under the conduct of the bishops of Meath and Limerick. A committee was formed to take charge of the administration; and an account of these transactions was transmitted to king William, together with a petition, that he would honour the city with his presence.

§ XXXI. On the morning after the battle of the Boyne, William fent a detachment of horse and foot, under the command of M. Mellionere, to Drogheda, the governor of which furrendered the place without oppolition. The king, at the head of the army, began his march for Dublin, and halted the first night at Bally-Breghan, where, having received advice of the enemy's retreat from the capital, he fent the duke of Ormond, with a body of horse, to take possession: These were immediately followed by the Dutch guards, who fecured the castle. In a few days the king encamped at Finglas, in the neighbourhood of Dublin, where he was visited by the bishops of Meath and Limerick, at the head of the protestant clergy, whom he affured of his favour and protection. Then he published a declaration of pardon to all the common people who had ferved against him, provided they should return to their dwellings, and furrender their arms by the first day of August. that rented lands of popish proprietors, who had been concerned in the rebellion, were required to retain their rents in their own hands, until they should have notice from the commissioners of the revenue to whom they should be paid. The desperate leaders of the rebellion, who had violated the laws of the kingdom, called in the French, authorised the depredations which had been committed upon the protestants, and rejected the pardon offered to them on the king's first proclamation, were left to the event of war, unless by evident demonstrations of repentance they should deserve mercy; which would

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never be refused to those who were truly penitent. The next step taken by king William was to issue a proclamation, reducing the brass money to nearly its intrinsic value. In the mean time, the principal officers in the army of James, after having seen him embark at Waterford, returned to their troops, determined to prosecute the war as long as they could be supplied with means to support

their operations.

& XXXII. During these transactions the queen, as regent, found herfelf furrounded with numberless cares and perplexities. Her council was pretty equally divided into Whigs and Tories, who did not always act with unanimity. She was distracted between her appre. hensions for her father's safety and her husband's life: She was threatened with an invasion by the French from abroad, and with an infurrection by the Jacobites at home. Nevertheless, she disguissed her fears, and behaved with equal prudence and fortitude. Advice being received that a fleet was ready to fail from Brest, lord Torrington hoisted his flag in the Downs, and failed round to St. Helen's, in order to affemble fuch a number of ships as would enable him to give them battle. The enemy being discovered off Plymouth, on the twentieth day of June, the English admiral, reinforced with a Dutch squadron, stood out to sea, with a view to intercept them at the back of the Isle of Wight, should they presume to fail up the Channel: Not that he thought himself strong enough to cope with them in battle. Their fleet confifted of feventy-eight ships of war, twoand-twenty fireships; whereas the combined squadrons of England and Holland did not exceed fix-and-fifty; but he had received orders to hazard an engagement, if he thought it might be done with any prospect of succefs. After the hostile fleets had continued five days is fight of each other, lord Torrington bore down upon the enemy off Beachy-head, on the thirtieth day of June, at day-break. The Dutch squadron, which composed the van, began the engagement about nine in the morning; in about half an hour the blue division of the English were close engaged with the rear of the French;

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but the red, which formed the centre, under the command of Torrington in person, did not fill the line till ten o'clock; fo that the Dutch were almost furrounded by the enemy, and, though they fought with great valour, fustained confiderable damage. At length, the admiral's division drove between them and the French, and in that fituation the fleet anchored about five in the afternoon, when the action was interrupted by a calm. The Dutch had fuffered fo severely, that Torrington thought it would be imprudent to renew the battle; he therefore weighed anchor in the night, and with the tide of flood retired to the eastward. The next day the difabled ships were destroyed, that they might not be retarded in their retreat. They were purfued as far as Rye: An English ship of seventy guns being stranded near Winchelsea, was set on fire, and deserted, by the captain's command. A Dutch ship of fixty-four guns met with the same accident, and some French frigates attempted to burn her; but the captain defended her fo vigorously, that they were obliged to desist; and he afterwards found means to carry her fafe to Holland. this engagement the English lost two ships, two seacaptains, and about four hundred men; but the Dutch were more unfortunate: Six of their great ships were destroyed; Dick and Brackel, rear-admirals, were flain, together with a great number of inferior officers and feamen. Torrington retreated without further interruption into the mouth of the Thames, and, having taken precaution against any attempts of the enemy in that quarter, returned to London, the inhabitants of which were overwhelmed with consternation.

§ XXXIII. The government was infected with the fame panic. The ministry pretended to believe that the French acted in concert with the malcontents of the nation; that insurrections in the different parts of the kingdom had been projected by the Jacobites; and that there would be a general revolt in Scotland. These infinuations were circulated by the court-agents, in order to justify, in the opinion of the public, the measures that were deemed necessary at this juncture; and they pro-

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duced the defired effect. The apprehensions thus artifully raised among the people, inflamed their aversion to nonjurors and Jacobites. Addresses were presented to the queen by the Cornish tinners, by the lieutenancy of Middlesex, and by the mayor, aldermen, and lieutenancy of London, filled with professions of loyalty, and promifes of supporting their majesties, as their lawful fovereigns, against all opposition. The queen, at this criss, exhibited remarkable proofs of courage, activity, and difcretion. She iffued out proper orders and directions for putting the nation in a posture of defence, as well as for refitting and augmenting the fleet: She took measures for appealing the refentment of the States-General, who exclaimed against the earl of Torrington, for his behaviour in the lare action. He was deprived of his command, and fent prisoner to the Tower; and commissioners were appointed to examine the particular circumstances of his conduct. A camp was formed in the neighbourhood of Torbay, where the French feemed to threaten a descent. Their fleet, which lay at anchor in the bay, cannonaded a fmall village called Tingmouth. About a thousand of their men landed without opposition, set fire to the place, and burned a few coastingveffels: Then they re-embarked, and returned to Breft, fo vain of this atchievement, that they printed a pompous account of their invasion. Some of the Whig partifans published pamphlets, and diffused reports, implying, that the suspended bishops were concerned in the conspiracy against the government: And these arts proved so inflammatory among the common people, that the prelates chought it necessary to print a paper, in which they afferted their innocence with the most solemn protestations. The court feems to have harboured no fulpicion against them, otherwise they would not have escaped imprisonment. The queen issued a proclamation for apprehending the earls of Lichfield, Aylesbury, and Castlemain; viscount Presson; the lords Montgomery and Bellasis; sir Edward Hales, sir Robert Tharold, sir Robert Hamilton, fir Theophilus Oglethorpe, colonel Edward Sackville, and some other officers. These were accufed accused of having conspired with other disaffected perfons to disturb and destroy the government, and of a defign to concur with her majesty's enemies in the intended invasion. The earl of Torrington continued a prisoner in the Tower till next feffion, when he was brought into the house of commons, and made a speech in his own defence. His case produced long debates in the upper house, where the form of his commitment was judged illegal: At length he was tried by a court-martial, appointed by the commissioners of the admiralty, though not before an act had passed, declaring the power of a lord high-admiral vefted in those commissioners. The president of the court was fir Ralph Delaval, who had acted as vice-admiral of the blue in the engagement. The earl was acquitted, but the king difmiffed him from the fervice; and the Dutch exclaimed against the partiality

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& XXXIV. William is faid to have intercepted all the papers of his father-in-law and Tyrconnel, and to have learned from them not only the defign projected by the French to burn the English transports, but likewise the undertaking of one lones, who engaged to affaffinate king William. No fuch attempt, however, was made; and, in all probability, the whole report was a fiction, calculated to throw an odium on James's character. On the ninth day of July, William detached general Douglas with a confiderable body of horse and foot towards Athlone, while he himself, having left Trelawny to command at Dublin, advanced with the rest of his army to Inchiquin, in his way to Kilkenny. Colonel Grace, the governor of Athlone for king James, being summoned to furrender, fired a pistol at the trumpeter, faying, "These are my terms." Then Douglas resoved to undertake the fiege of the place; which was naturally very ftrong, and defended by a resolute garrison. An inconfiderable breach was made, when Douglas, receiving intelligence that Sarsfield was on his march to the relief of the befieged, abandoned the enterprize, after having lost above four hundred men in the attempt. The king continued his march to the westward; and, by dint of H 2

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fevere examples, established such order and discipline in his army, that the peasants were secure from the least violence. At Carlow he detached the duke of Ormond to take possession of Kilkenny; where that nobleman regaled him in his own castle, which the enemy had lest undamaged. While the army encamped at Carrick, major-general Kirke was sent to Waterford; the garrison of which, consisting of two regiments, capitulated, upon condition of marching out with their arms and baggage, and being conducted to Mallow. The fort of Duncannon was surrendered on the same terms. Here the lord Dover and the lord George Howard were admitted to the benefit of the king's mercy and protection.

§ XXXV. On the first day of August, William being at Chapel-Izard, published a second declaration of mercy, confirming the former, and even extending it to perfons of fuperior rank and station, whether natives or foreigners, provided they would, by the twenty-fifth day of the month, lay down their arms, and submit to certain con-This offer of indemnity produced very little effect; for the Irish were generally governed by their priests; and the news of the victory which the French fleet had obtained over the English and Dutch, was circulated with fuch exaggerations as elevated their spirits, and effaced all thoughts of submission. The king had returned to Dublin with a view to embark for England; but receiving notice that the defigns of his domestic enemies were discovered and frustrated, that the fleet was repaired, and the French navy retired to Brest, he postponed his voyage, and refolved to reduce Limerick; in which monfieur Boiffeleau commanded as governor, and the duke of Berwick and colonel Sarsfield acted as inferior officers. On the ninth day of August the king, having called in his detachments, and advanced into the neighbourhood of the place, fummoned the commander to deliver the town; and Boiffeleau answered, That he imagined the best way to gain the good opinion of the prince of Orange, would be a vigorous defence of the town; which his majesty had committed to his charge. Before

the place was fully invested, colonel Sarsfield, with a body of horse and dragoons, passed the Shannon in the night, intercepted the king's train of artillery on its way to the camp, routed the troops that guarded it, disabled the cannon, destroyed the carriages, waggons, and ammunition, and returned in fafety to Limerick. Notwithstanding this disaster, the trenches were opened on the seventeenth day of the month, and a battery was raised with some cannon brought from Waterford. The fiege was carried on with vigour, and the place defended with great resolution. At length, the king ordered his troops to make a lodgment in the covered way or counterfcarp; which was accordingly affaulted with great fury: But the affailants met with fuch a warm reception from the befreged, that they were repulfed with the loss of twelve hundred men, either killed on the fpot or mortally wounded. This disappointment concurring with the badness of the weather, which became rainy and unwholesome, induced the king to renounce his undertaking. The heavy baggage and cannon being fent away, the army decamped, and marched towards Clonmel. William having constituted the lord Sidney and Thomas Coningsby lord justices of Ireland, and left the command of the army with count Solmes, embarked at Duncannon with prince George of Denmark, on the fifth day of September, and next day arrived in King-Road, near Bristol; from whence he repaired to Winds for.

§ XXXVI. About the latter end of this month the earl of Marlborough arrived in Ireland with five thoufand English troops, to attack Cork and Kinfale, in conjunction with a detachment from the great army, according to a scheme he had proposed to king William. Having landed his foldiers without much opposition in the neighbourhood of Cork, he was joined by five thoufand men, under the prince of Wirtemberg, between whom and the earl a dispute arose about the command; but this was compromised by the interposition of la Mellionere. The place being invested, and the batteries railed, the befiegers proceeded with fuch rapidity, that a

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breach was foon effected. Colonel Mackillicut, the 20. vernor, demanded a parley, and hostages were exchanged; but he rejected the conditions that were offered, and hof. tilities recommenced with redoubled vigor. The duke of Grafton, who served on this occasion as a volunteer. was mortally wounded in one of the attacks, and died regretted as a youth of promising talents. Preparations being made for a general affault, the befieged thought proper to capitulate, and furrendered themselves prisoners of war. Befides the governor and colonel Ricaut, the victor found the earls of Clancarty and Tyrone among the individuals of the garrison. Marlborough having taken possession of Cork, detached brigadier Villiers with a body of horfe and dragoons to fummon the town and forts of Kinsale; and the next day advanced with the rest of the forces. The old fort was immediately taken by affault; but fir Edward Scot, who commanded the other, fustained a regular fiege until the breach was practicable, and then obtained an honourable capitula. tion. These maritime places being reduced, all communication between France and the enemy, on the fide of this island, was cut off; and the Irish were confined to Ulster, where they could not subsist without great difficulty. The earl of Marlborough, having finished this expedition in thirty days, returned with his prisoners to England, where the fame of this exploit added greatly to his reputation.

§ XXXVII. During these transactions count de Lauzun, commander of the French auxiliaries in Ireland, lay inactive in the neighbourhood of Galway, and transmitted fuch a lamentable account of his fituation to the court of France, that transports were sent over to bring home the French forces. In these he embarked with his troops; and the command of the Irish forces devolved to the duke of Berwick, though it was afterwards transferred to M. St. Ruth. Lauzun was difgraced at Verfailles for having deferted the cause before it was desperate: Tyrconnel, who accompanied him in his voyage, folicited the French court for a further supply of officers, arms, clothes, and ammunition for the Irish army;

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which, he faid, would continue firm to the interest of king James, if thus supported. Meanwhile they formed themselves into separate bodies of freebooters, and plundered the country, under the appellation of Rapparies; while the troops of king William either enjoyed their ease in quarters, or imitated the rapine of the enemy; so that, between both, the poor people were miferably harraffed.

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& XXXVIII. The affairs of the continent had not yet undergone any change of importance, except in the conduct of the duke of Savoy, who renounced his neutrality, engaged in an alliance with the emperor and king of Spain; and, in a word, acceded to the grand confederacy. He had no sooner declared himself than Catinat, the French general, entered his territories at the head of eighteen thousand men, and defeated him in a pitched battle near Saluces; which immediately furrendered to the conqueror. Then he reduced Savillana, Villa Franca, with feveral other places, purfued the duke to Carignan, furprifed Suza, and distributed his forces in winter-quarters, partly in Provence and partly in the duchy of Savoy, which St. Ruth had lately reduced under the dominion of France. The Duke finding himself disappointed in the succours he expected from the emperor and the king of Spain, demanded affiftance of the States-General and king William. To this last he fent an ambassador, to congratulate him upon his acceslon to the throne of England. The confederates, in their general congress at the Hague, had agreed that the army of the States, under prince Waldeck, should oppose the forces of France, commanded by the duke of Luxembourg, in Flanders; while the elector of Brandenburgh should observe the marquis de Boufflers on the Moselle: But, before the troops of Brandenburgh could be affembled, Boufflers encamped between the Sambre and the Meuse, and maintained a free communication with Luxembourg.

XXXIX. Prince Waldeck, understanding that this general intended to cross the Sambre between Namur and Charleroy, in order to lay the Spanish territories

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under contribution, decamped from the river Pieton, and detached the count of Berlo, with a great body of horse. to observe the motions of the enemy. He was encoun. tered by the French army near Fleurus, and flain; and his troops, though supported by two other detachments. were hardly able to rejoin the main body, which continued all night in order of battle. Next day they were attacked by the French, who were greatly superior to them in number: After a very obstinate engagement the allies gave way, leaving about five thousand men dead upon the field of battle. The enemy took about four thousand prisoners, and the greatest part of their artillery; but the victory was dearly bought. The Dutch infantry fought with furprifing refolution and fuccess, The duke of Luxembourg owned, with furprife, that they had furpaffed the Spanish foot at the battle of Rocroy. "Prince Waldeck (faid he) ought always to re-" member the French horse; and I shall never forget " the Dutch infantry." The Dutch general exerted himself with such activity, that the French derived very little advantage from their victory. The prince being reinforced with the five English regiments, nine thoufand Hanoverians, ten thousand from the bishopric of Liege and Holland, joined the elector of Brander burgh; fo that the confederate army amounted to five-and-fifty thousand men; and they marched by the way of Genap to Bois-Seigneur-Isaac. They were now superior to Luxembourg, who thought proper to fortify his camp, that he might not be obliged to fight, except with confiderable advantage. Nevertheless prince Waldeck would have attacked him in his entrenchments, had he hot been prohibited from hazarding another engagement, by an express order of the States-General; and, when this re-Ariction was removed, the elector would not venture a battle.

§ XL. By this time the emperor's fon Joseph was, by the electoral college, chosen king of the Romans; but his interest sustained a rude shock in the death of the gallant duke of Lorraine, who was suddenly seized with a quinty, at a small village near Lintz, and expired,

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not without fuspicion of having fallen a facrifice to the fears of the French king, against whom he had formerly declared war, as a fovereign prince unjustly expelled from his territories. He possessed great military talents, and had threatened to enter Lorraine, at the head of forty thousand men, in the course of the ensuing summer. The court of France, alarmed at this declaration, is faid to have had recourse to poison, for preventing the execution of the duke's defign. At his death the command of the Imperial army was conferred upon the elector of Bavaria. This prince, having joined the elector of Saxony, advanced against the dauphin, who had passed the Rhine at Fort Louis, with a confiderable army, and intended to penetrate into Wirtemberg; but the duke of Bavaria checked his progress; and he acted on the defenfive during the remaining part of the campaign. The emperor was less fortunate in his efforts against the Turks, who rejected the conditions of peace he had offered, and took the field under a new vifir. In the month of August count Tekeli defeated a body of Imperialists near Cronstadt, in Transylvania; then convoking the states of that province at Albajulia, he compelled them to elect him their fovereign; but his reign was of thort duration. Prince Louis, of Baden, having taken the command of the Austrian army, detached four regiments into Belgrade, and advanced against Tekeli, who retired into Valachia at his approach. Meanwhile the grand vifir invested Belgrade, and carried on his attacks with furprifing refolution. At length, a bomb falling upon a great tower, in which the powder-magazine of the besieged was contained, the place blew up with a dreadful explosion. Seventeen hundred soldiers of the garrison were destroyed; the walls and ramparts were overthrown; the ditch was filled up, and to large a breach was opened, that the Turks entered by squadrons and battalions, cutting in pieces all that fell in their way. The fire spread from magazine to magazine until eleven were destroyed; and, in the confusion, the remaining part of the garrison escaped to Peterwaradin. By this time the Imperialists were in possession of Tran-

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fylvania, and cantoned at Cronstadt and Clausinburgh, Tekeli undertook to attack the province on one side, while a body of Turks should invade it on the other: These last were totally dispersed by prince Louis of Baden; but prince Augustus, of Hanover, whom he had detached against the count, was slain in a narrow desile, and his troops were obliged to retreat with precipitation. Tekeli, however, did not improve this advantage. Being apprised of the fate of his allies, and asraid of seeing his retreat cut off by the snow, that frequently choaks up the passes of the mountains, he retreated again to Valachia; and prince Louis returned to Vienna.

& XLI. King William having published a proclamation, requiring the attendance of the members on the fecond day of October, both houses met accordingly; and he opened the fession with a speech to the usual purport. He mentioned what he had done towards the reduction of Ireland; commended the behaviour of the troops; told them the supplies were not equal to the necessary expence; represented the danger to which the nation would be exposed, unless the war should be profecuted with vigour; conjured them to clear his revenue, which was mortgaged for the payment of former debts, and enable him to pay off the arrears of the army; affured them that the fuccess of the confederacy abroad would depend upon the vigour and dispatch of their proceedings; expressed his resentment against those who had been guilty of misconduct in the management of the fleet; recommended unanimity and expedition; and declared, that whoever should attempt to divert their attention from those subjects of importance which he had proposed, could neither be a friend to him, nor a wellwisher to his country. The late attempt of the French upon the coast of England, the rumours of a conspiracy by the Jacobites, the personal valour which William had displayed in Ireland, and the pusillanimous behaviour of James, concurred in warming the refentment of the nation against the adherents of the late king, and in raising a tide of loyalty in favour of the new government. Both houses

houses presented separate addresses of congratulation to the king and queen, upon his courage and conduct in the field, and her fortitude and fagacity at the helm, in times of danger and disquiet. The commons, pursuant to an estimate laid before them of the next year's expences, voted a supply of four millions for the maintenance of the army and navy, and feetled the funds for

that purpose.

& XLII. They proposed to raise one million by the fale of forfeited estates in Ireland: They resolved, that a bill should be brought in for confiscating those estates, with a claufe, empowering the king to bestow a third part of them on those who had served in the war, as well as to grant fuch articles and capitulations to those who were in arms, as he should think proper. This clause was rejected; and a great number of petitions were offered against the bill, by creditors and heirs, who had continued faithful to the government. These were fupposed to have been fuggested by the court, in order to retard the progress of the bill; for the estates had been already promised to the king's favourites: Nevertheles, the bill passed the lower house, and was fent up to the lords, among whom it was purposely delayed by the influence of the ministry. It was at this juncture that lord Torrington was tried and acquitted, very much to the diffatisfaction of the king, who not only difmiffed him from the service, but even forbade him to appear in his presence. When William came to the house of lords, to give the royal affent to a bill for doubling the excise, he told the parliament, that the posture of affairs required his presence at the Hague; that, therefore, they ought to lofe no time in perfecting fuch other supplies as were ftill necessary for the maintenance of the army and navy; and he reminded them of making some provision for the expence of the civil government. Two bills were accordingly passed for granting to their majesties the duties. on goods imported, for five years; and thefe, together with the mutiny-bill, received the royal affent: Upon which occasion the king observed, that if some annual provision could be made for augmenting the navy, it

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would greatly conduce to the honour and safety of the nation. In consequence of this hint they voted a considerable supply for building additional ships of war, and proceeded with such alacrity and expedition, as even seemed to anticipate the king's desires. This liberality and dispatch were, in a great measure, owing to the management of lord Godolphin, who was now placed at the head of the treasury, and fir John Somers, the solicitor-general. The place of secretary of state, which had remained vacant since the resignation of the earl of Shresbury, was now silled with lord Sidney; and sir Charles Porter was appointed one of the justices of Ireland, in the room of this nobleman.

& XLIII. Notwithstanding the act for reversing the proceedings against the city-charter, the Whigs had made shift to keep possession of the magistracy: Pilking. ton continued mayor, and Robinson retained the office The Tories of the city, prefuming of chamberlain. upon their late fervices, prefented a petition to the house of commons, complaining, That the intent of the late act of parliament, for reverfing the judgment on the quo warranto, was frustrated by some doubtful expression; so that the old aldermen elected by commission under the late king's great feal, still acted by virtue of that authority: That fir Thomas Pilkington was not duly returned as mayor by the common-hall: And, That he and the aldermen had imposed Mr. Leonard Robinson upon them as chamberlain, though another person was duly elected into that office: That divers members of the commoncouncil had been illegally excluded, and others, duly elected, were refused admittance. They specified other grievances, and petitioned for relief. Pilkington and his affociates undertook to prove that those allegations were either false or frivolous; and represented the petition as a contrivance of the Jacobites to disturb the peace of the city, that the supply might be retarded, and the government diffressed. In the late panic which

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^{*} See note [F] at the end of the volume.

overspread the nation, the Whigs had appeared to be the monied men, and subscribed largely for the security of the settlement they had made, while the Tories kept aloof with a suspicious caution. For this reason, the court now interposed its influence in such a manner, that little or no regard was paid to their remon-

&XLIV. The marquis of Caermarthen, lord-prefident, who was at the head of the Tory interest in the ministry, and had acquired great credit with the king and queen, now fell under the displeasure of the opposite faction; and they resolved, if possible, to revive his old impeachment. The earl of Shrewsbury, and thirteen other leading men, had engaged in this defign. mittee of lords was appointed to examine precedents, and enquire whether impeachments continued in statu quo from parliament to parliament. Several fuch precedents were reported; and violent debates enfued: But the marquis eluded the vengeance of his enemies, in confequence of the following question: " Whether the earls " of Salisbury and Peterborough, who had been im-" peached in the former parliament for being reconciled " to the church of Rome, shall be discharged from their "bail?" The house resolved in the assirmative; and several lords entered a protest. The commons having finished a bill for appointing commissioners to take and frate the public accounts, and having chosen the commissioners from among their own members, sent it up to the house of lords. There the earl of Rochester moved, That they should add some of their number to those of the commons: They accordingly chose an equal number by ballot; but Rochester himself, being elected, refused to act: The others followed his example, and the bill paffed without alteration. On the fifth day of January the king put an end to the fession with a speech, in which he thanked them for the repeated instances they had exhibited of their affection to his person and government. He told them it was high time for him to embark for Holland; recommended unanimity; and affured them of his particular favour and protection. Then lord

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chief baron Atkins fignified his majesty's pleasure, that the two houses should adjourn themselves to the thirty-

first day of March *.

1691. & XLV. William having fettled the affairs of the nation, fet out for Margate on the fixth day of January; but the ship in which he proposed to embark being detained by an easterly wind and hard frost, he returned to Kenfington. On the fixteenth, however, he embarked at Gravefend with a numerous retinue, and fet fail for Holland, under convoy of twelve ships of war, commanded by admiral Rooke. Next day, being informed by a fisherman that he was within a league and a half of Goree, he quitted the yachr and went into an open boat, attended by the duke of Ormond, the earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Portland, and Monmouth, with Auverquerque and Zuylestein. Instead of landing immediately, they loft fight of the fleet, and, night coming on, were exposed in very severe weather to the danger of the enemy and the fea, which ran very high for eighteen hours; during which, the king and all his attendants were drenched with fea-water. When the failors expressed their apprehensions of perishing, the king asked if they were afraid to die in his company? At day-break he landed on the Isle of Goree, where he took some refreshment in a fisherman's hut; then he committed himself to the boat again, and was conveyed to the shore in the neighbourhood of Maeslandsluys. A deputation of the states received him at Hounslerdyke: About fix in the evening he arrived at the Hague, where he was immediately complimented by the States-General, the states of Holland, the council of state, the other colleges, and the foreign ministers. He afterwards, at the request of the magistrates, made his public entry with furprifing magnificence; and the Dutch celebrated his arrival with bonfires, illuminations, and other marks of tumultuous joy. He affisted at the different affemblies;

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In this year the English planters repossessed themselves of part of the island of St. Christopher; from which they had been driven by the French.

informed them of his fuccesses in England and Ireland: and affured them of his constant zeal and affection for LineA

his native country.

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& XLVI. At a folemn congress of the confederate princes, he represented, in a set speech, the dangers to which they were exposed from the power and ambition of France; and the necessity of acting with vigour and dispatch. He declared he would neither spare his credit, forces, nor person, in concurring with their measures; and that in the fpring he would come at the head of his troops to fulfil his engagements. They forthwith refolved to employ two hundred-and-twenty-two thousand men against France in the ensuing campaign. The proportions of the different princes and states were regulated; and the king of England agreed to furnish twenty thousand. He supplied the duke of Savoy so liberally, that his affairs foon affumed a more promising aspect. The plan of operations was fettled; and they transacted their affairs with fuch harmony, that no dispute interrupted their deliberations. In the beginning of March, immediately after the congress broke up, the fiege of Mons was undertaken by the French king in person, accompanied by the dauphin, the dukes of Orleans and Chartres. The garrison confifted of about fix thousand men, commanded by the prince of Bergue; but the befiegers carried on their works with fuch rapidity as they could not withstand. King William no sooner underfood that the place was invested, than he ordered prince Waldeck to affemble the army, and determined to march against the enemy in person. Fifty thousand men were foon collected at Halle, near Bruffels: But, when he went thither, he found the Spaniards had neglected to provide carriages, and other necessaries for the expedition. Meanwhile, the burghers of Mons, feeing their town in danger of being utterly destroyed by the bombs and cannon of the enemy, pressed the governor to capitulate, and even threatened to introduce the befiegers: So that he was forced to comply; and obtained very honourable conditions. William, being apprifed of this event

event, returned to the Hague, embarked for England, and arrived at Whitehall on the thirteenth day of April*.

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§ I. Conspiracy against the government by lord Preston and others. § 11. The king fills up the vacant bi-Shoprics. § III. Affairs of Scotland. § IV. Campaign in Flanders. § V. Progress of the French in Piedmont. § VI. Election of a new pope. § VII. The emperor's success against the Turks. & VIII. Affairs of Ireland. & IX. General Ginckel reduces Athlone. § X. Defeats the Irish at Aghrim. § XI. Undertakes the fiege of Limerick. § XII. The French and Irish obtain an honourable capitulation. § XIII. Twelve thousand Irish catholics are transported to France. § XIV. Meeting of the English parliament. § XV. Discontent of the nation. § XVI. Transactions in parliament. § XVII. Disputes concerning the bill for regulating trials in cases of high-treason. S XVIII. The English and Dutch fleets worsted in an engagement off Beachy-head. & XIX. The king difobliges the presbyterians of Scotland. & XX. The earl of Breadalbane undertakes for the submission of the Highlanders. & XXI. Maffacre of Glencoe. & XXII. Preparations for a descent upon England. § XXIII. Declaration of king James. & XXIV. Efforts of his friends in England. § XXV. Precautions taken by the queen for the defence of the nation. § XXVI. Admiral Russel puts to sea. § XXVII. He obtains a complete victory over the French fleet off La Hogue.

& XXVIII.

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^{*} A few days before his arrival, a great part of the palace of Whitehall was confumed by are, through the negligence of a female fervant.

& XXVIII. Troops embark at St. Helen's for a descent upon France. § XXIX. The defign laid afide. The troops landed at Oftend. § XXX. The French king takes Namur in fight of king William. & XXXI. The allies are defeated at Steenkerke. § XXXII. Extravagant rejoicings in France on account of this victory. & XXXIII. Conspiracy against the life of king William, hatched by the French ministry. § XXXIV. Miscarriage of a design upon Dunkirk. & XXXV. The cami paign is inactive upon the Rhine and in Hungary. & XXXVI. The duke of Savoy invades Dauphine. & XXXVII. The duke of Hanover created an elector of the empire.

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§ I. A Conspiracy against the government had been lately discovered. In the latter end of December the master of a vessel, who lived at Barking; in Essex, informed the marquis of Caermarthen, that his wife had let out one of his boats to carry over some persons to France; and that they would embark on the thirtieth day of the month. This intelligence being communicated to the king and council, an order was fent to captain Billop to watch the motion of the vessel, and secure the passengers. He accordingly boarded her at Gravesend, and found in the hold lord Preston, Mr. Ashton, a servant of the late queen, and one Elliot. He likewise seized a bundle of papers, some of which were scarcely intelligible. Among the rest, two letters, supposed to be written by Turner, bishop of Ely, to king James and his queen, under fictitious names. The whole amounted to an invitation to the French king, to affift king James in reascending the throne, upon certain conditions, while William should be absent from the kingdom: But the scheme was ill laid, and countenanced but by very few persons of confideration; among whom the chiefs were the earl of Clarendon, the bishop of Ely, lord Preston, his brother, Mr. Graham, and Penn, the famous quaker. Notwithstanding the outcries which had 13 been

been made against the severities of the late government, Preston, and his accomplice Ashton, were tried at the Old Bailey for compassing the death of their majesties king William and queen Mary; and their trials were hurried on, without any regard to their petitions for delay. Lord Preston alledged, in his defence, that the treafons charged upon him were not committed in the county of Middlesex, as laid in the indictment; that none of the witnesses declared he had any concern in hiring the veffel; that the papers were not found upon him; that there ought to be two credible witnesses to every fact; whereas, the whole proof against him rested on similitude of hands, and mere supposition. He was, nevertheless, found guilty. Ashton behaved with great intrepidity and composure. He owned his purpose of going to France, in pursuance of a promise he had made to general Wordon, who, on his death-bed, conjured him to go thither, and finish some affairs of consequence which he had left there depending; as well as with a view to recover a confiderable fum of money due to himfelf. He denied that he was privy to the contents of the papers found upon him: He complained of his having been denied time to prepare for his trial; and called feveral persons to prove him a protestant of exemplary piety and irreproachable morals. These circumstances had no weight with the court. He was brow-beaten by the bench, and found guilty by the jury, as he had the papers in his custody; yet, there was no privity proved; and the Whig party themselves had often expressly declared, That of all forts of evidence, that of finding papers in a person's possession is the weakest, because no man can secure himself from such danger. Ashton suffered with equal courage and decorum. In a paper which he delivered to the sheriff, he owned his attachment to king James; he witnessed to the birth of the prince of Wales; denied his knowledge of the contents of the papers that were committed to his charge; complained of the hard measure he had met with from the judges and the jury, but forgave them in the fight of Heaven. This man was celebrated

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elebrated by the nonjurors as a martyr to loyalty; and they boldly affirmed, that his chief crime in the eyes of the government, was his having among his baggage an account of fuch evidence as would have been convincing to all the world, concerning the birth of the prince of Wales; which, by a great number of people, was believed supposititious. Lord Preston obtained a pardon: Elliot was not tried, because no evidence appeared against him: The earl of Clarendon was sent to the Tower, where he remained some months, and he was afterwards confined to his own house in the country; an indulgence, which he owed to his consanguinity with the queen, who was his first cousin. The bishop of Ely, Graham, and Penn, absconded; and a proclamation was issued for ap-

prehending them as traitors.

§ II. This prelate's being concerned in a conspiracy, furnished the king with a plausible pretence for filling up the vacant bishoprics. The deprived bishops had been given to understand, that an act of parliament might be obtained to excuse them from taking the oaths, provided they would perform their episcopal functions: But, as they declined this expedient, the king refolved to fill up their places at his return from Holland. Accordingly, the archbishopric of Canterbury was conferred upon Dr. Tillotson +; one of the most learned, moderate, and virtuous ecclefiaftics of the age, who did not accept of this promotion without great reluctance, because he foresaw that he should be exposed to the slander and malevolence of that party which espoused the cause of his predecessor. The other vacant sees were given to divines of unblemished character; and the public in general seemed very well satisfied with this exertion of the king's supremacy. The deprived bishops at first affected all the meekness of refignation. They remembered those shouts of popular approbation, by which they had

* See note [G] at the end of the volume.

[†] Beveridge was promoted to the fee of Bath and Wells, Fowler to that of Gloucester, Cumberland to Peterborough, Moore to Norwich, Grove to Chichester, and Patrick to Ely.

been animated in the perfecution they fuffered under the late government; and they hoped the fame cordial would support them in their present affliction: But finding the nation cold in their concern, they determined to warm it by argument and declamation. The press groaned with the efforts of their learning and refentment; and every essay was answered by their opponents. The nonjurors affirmed, that christianity was a doctrine of the cross: that no pretence whatever could justify an insurrection against the fovereign; that the primitive christians thought it their indispensable duty to be passive under every invafion of their rights; and, that nonrefistance was the doctrine of the English church, confirmed by all the fanc. tions that could be derived from the laws of God and man. The other party not only supported the natural rights of mankind, and explained the use that might be made of the doctrine of nonrefistance in exciting fresh commotions, but they also argued, that if passive obedience was right in any instance, it was conclusively so with regard to the present government; for the obedience required by scripture was indiscriminate, "The pow-" ers that be, are ordained of God-let every foul be " fubject to the higher powers." From these texts they inferred that the new oaths ought to be taken without scruple; and that those who refused them, concealed party under the cloke of conscience. On the other hand, the fallacy and treachery of his argument were demonstrated. They said, it levelled all distinctions of justice and duty; that those who taught such doctrines attached themselves solely to possession, however unjustly acquired; that if twenty different usurpers should succeed one another, they would recognize the last, notwithstanding the allegiance they had so solemply sworn to his predecessor, like the fawning spaniel that followed the thief who mounted his mafter's horse, after having murthered the right owner. They also denied the justice of a lay-deprivation, and, with respect to church-government, started the same distinctions " De jure and de " facto," which they had formerly made in the civil administration. They had even recourse to all the bitterness

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terness of invective against Tillotson and the new bishops, whom they reviled as intruders and usurpers: Their acrimony was chiefly directed against Dr. Sherlock, who had been one of the most violent sticklers against the revolution, but thought proper to take the oaths upon the retreat of king James from Ireland. They branded him as an apostate, who had betrayed his cause, and published a review of his whole conduct; which proved a severe satire upon his character. Their attacks upon individuals were mingled with their vengeance against the government; and, indeed, the great aim of their divines, as well as of their politicians, was to fap the foundation of the new fettlement. In order to alienate the minds of the people from the interests of the reigning prince, they ridiculed his character; inveighed against his measures; they accused him of sacrificing the concerns of England to the advantage of his native country; and drew invidious comparisons between the wealth, the trade, the taxes of the last, and of the prefent reign. To frustrate these efforts of the malcontents, the court employed their engines to answer and recriminate: All forts of informers were encouraged and caressed: In a proclamation issued against papists and other disaffected persons, all magistrates were enjoined to make fearch, and apprehend those who should, by seditious discourses and libels, prefume to defame the government. Thus the revolutioners commenced the professed enemies of those very arts and practices which had enabled them to bring their scheme to perfection.

§ III. The presbyterians in Scotland acted with such folly, violence, and tyranny, as rendered them equally odious and contemptible. The transactions in their general assembly were carried on with such peevishness, partiality, and injustice, that the king dissolved it by an act of state, and convoked another for the month of November in the following year. The episcopal party promised to enter heartily into the interests of the new government, to keep the Highlanders quiet, and induce the clergy to acknowledge and serve king William, provided he would balance the power of Melvil and his partisans

in fuch a manner as would fecure them from violence and oppression, provided the episcopal ministers should be permitted to perform their functions among those people by whom they were beloved, and that fuch of them as were willing to mix with the presbyterians in their judicatories. should be admitted without any severe imposition in point of opinion. The king, who was extremely difgusted at the presbyterians, relished the proposal; and young Dalrymple, fon of lord Stair, was appointed joint fecretary of state with Melvil. He undertook to bring over the majority of the Jacobites; and a great number of them took the oaths; but at the same time they maintained a correspondence with the court of St. Germains, by the connivance of which they submitted to William, that they might be in a condition to ferve James the more effectually. The Scottish parliament was adjourned by proclamation to the fixteenth day of September. Precautions were taken to prevent any dangerous communication with the continent: A committee was appointed to put the kingdom in a posture of defence; to exercise the powers of the regency, in fecuring the enemies of the government; and the earl of Home, with fir Peter Fraser and fir Æneas Macpherson were apprehended and districted persons, all magificates were enjointed personalization

& IV. The king, having fettled the operations of the enfuing campaign in Ireland, where general Ginckel exercifed the fupreme command, manned his fleet by dint of preffing failors, to the incredible annoyance of commerce: Then, leaving the queen, as before, at the helm of government in England, he returned to Holland, accompanied by lord Sidney, fecretary of frate, the earls of Marlborough and Portland, and began to make preparations for taking the field in person. On the thirtieth day of May the duke of Luxembourg, having passed the Scheldt at the head of a large army, took possession of Halle, and gave it up to plunder, in fight of the confederates; who were obliged to throw up entrenchments for their preservation. At the same time the marquis de Boufflers, with a confiderable body of forces, entrenched himself before Liege, with a view to bombard that city.

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In the beginning of June king William took upon himfelf the command of the allied army, by this time reinforced in fuch a manner as to be superior to the enemy. He forthwith detached the count de Tilly, with ten thousand men, to the relief of Liege, which was already reduced to ruins and defolation by the bombs, bullets, and repeated attacks of Boufflers, who now thought proper to retreat to Dinant. Tilly, having thus raised the fiege, and thrown a body of troops into Huy, rejoined the confederate army, which had been augmented ever fince his departure with fix thousand men from Brandenburgh, and ten thousand Hessians, commanded by the landgrave in person. Such was the vigilance of Luxembourg, that William could not avail himself of his superiority. In vain he exhausted his invention in marches, counter-marches, and stratagems, to bring on a general engagement: The French marshal avoided it with such dexterity, as baffled all his endeavours. In the courfe of this campaign the two armies twice confronted each other; but they were fituated in fuch a manner that neither could begin the arrack without a manifest disadvantage. While the king lay encamped at Court-furheure, a foldier, corrupted by the enemy, fet fire to the fulees of feveral bombs; the explosion of which might have blown up the whole magazine, and produced infinite confusion in the army, had not the mischief been prevented by the courage of the men who guarded the artillery: Even while the fusees were burning they difengaged the waggons from the line, and overturned them down the fide of a hill; fo that the communication of the fire was intercepted. The person who made this treacherous attempt being discovered, owned he had been employed for this purpose by the duke of Luxembourg. He was tried by a court-martial, and fuffered the death of a traitor. Such perfidious practices not only fix an indelible share of infamy on the French general, but prove how much the capacity of William was dreaded by his enemies. King William, quitting Courtfur-heure, encamped upon the plain of St. Giraid, where he remained till the fourth day of September, confuming

the forage, and exhausting the country. Then he passed the Sambre, near Jemeppe, while the French croffed it at La Busire, and both armies marched towards Eng. hien. The enemy, perceiving the confederates were at their heels, proceeded to Gramont, passed the Dender, and took possession of a strong camp between Aeth and Oudenarde. William followed the same route, and encamped between Aeth and Leufe. While he continued in his post, the Hessian forces and those of Liege, amounting to about eighteen thousand men, separated from the army, and passed the Meuse at Namur: Then the king returned to the Hague, leaving the command to the prince Waldeck, who forthwith removed to Leufe, and, on the twentieth day of the month, began his march to Cambron. Luxembourg, who watched his motions with a curious eye, found means to attack him in his retreat fo fuddenly, that his rear was furprifed and defeated, though the French were at last obliged to retire. The prince continued his route to Cambron; and in a little time both armies retired into winter-quarters. In the mean time, the duke de Noailles besieged and took Urgel, in Catalonia, while a French squadron, commanded by the count d'Etrées, bombarded Barcelona and Alicant.

§ V. The confederates had proposed to act vigorously in Italy against the French; but the season was far advanced before they were in a condition to take the field. The emperor and Spain had undertaken to furnish troops to join the duke of Savoy; and the maritime powers contributed their proportion in money. The elector of Bavaria was nominated to the supreme command of the Imperial forces in that country: The marquis de Leganez, governor of the Milanese, acted as trustee for the Spanish monarch: Duke Schomberg, son of that great general who loft his life at the Boyne, lately created duke of Leinster, managed the interest of William, as king of England and stadsholder, and commanded a body of the Vaudois paid by Great Britain. Before the German auxiliaries arrived, the French had made great progress in their conquests. Catinat besieged and took Villa-Franca, Nice, and some other fortifications; then he reduced Villana and Carmagnola, and detached the mar-

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quis de Feuquieres to invest Coni; a strong fortress garrisoned by the Vaudois and French refugees. The duke of Savoy was now reduced to the brink of ruin. He faw almost all his places of strength in the possession of the enemy: Coni was befieged; and La Hoguette, another French general, had forced the passes of the valley of Aoste, so that he had free admission into the Verceillois, and the frontiers of the Milanese. Turin was threatened with a bombardment; the people were difpirited and clamorous, and the fovereign lay with his little army encamped on the hill of Montcallier, from whence he beheld his towns taken, and his palace of Rivoli defroyed. Duke Schomberg exhorted him to act on the offensive, and give battle to Catinat, while that officer's army was weakened by detachments; and prince Eugene * supported his remonstrance: But this proposal was vehemently opposed by the marquis de Leganez, who forefaw that if the duke should be defeated, the French would penetrate into the territories of Milan. het of Coni, however, was undertaken by prince Eugene, who began his march for that place with a convoy guarded by two-and-twenty hundred horse: At Magliano he was reinforced by five thousand militia: Bulonde, who commanded at the fiege, no fooner heard of his approach than he retired with the utinost precipitation, leaving behind fome pieces of cannon, mortars, bombs, arms, ammunition, tents, provisions, utenfils, with all his fick and wounded. When he joined Catinat he was immediately put under arrest, and afterwards cashiered with difgrace. Hoguette abandoned the valley of Aoste; Feuquieres was sent with a detachment to change the garrison of Casal; and Catinat retired with his army towards Villa Nova d'Aste.

§ VI. The miscarriage of the French before Coni affected Louvois, the minister of Louis, so deeply, that he could not help shedding tears when he communicated the event to his master; who told him, with great composure, that he was spoiled by good fortune. But the retreat of the French

^{*} See note [H] at the end of the volume.

from Piedmont had a ftill greater influence over the refolutions of the conclave at Rome, then fitting for the election of a new pope, in the room of Alexander VIII. who died in the beginning of February. Notwithstanding the power and intrigues of the French faction, headed by cardinal d'Etrées, the affairs of Piedmont had no fooner taken this turn than the Italians joined the Spanish and Imperial interest, and cardinal Pignatelli, a Neapolitan, was elected pontiff. He assumed the name of Innocent, in honour of the last pope, known by that appellation, and adopted all his maxims against the French monarch. When the German auxiliaries arrived, under the command of the elector of Bavaria, the confederates resolved to give battle to Catinat; but he repassed the Po, and sent couriers to Versailles to solicit a reinforcement. Then prince Eugene invested Carmagnola, and carried on the fiege with fuch vigour, that in eleven days the garrison capitulated: Meanwhile the marquis de Hoquincourt undertook the conquest of Montmelian, and reduced the town without much refistance: The castle, however, made such a vigorous defence, that Catinat marched thither in person; and, notwithstanding all his efforts, the place held out till the second day of December, when it furrendered on honourable conditions.

§ VII. This fummer produced nothing of importance on the Rhine. The French endeavoured to furprise Mentz, by maintaining a correspondence with one of the emperor's commissioners; but this being discovered, their defign was frustrated. The Imperal army, under the elector of Saxony, passed the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Manheim; and the French, croffing the fame river at Philipsburgh, reduced the town of Portz. heim, in the marquisate of Baden Dourlach. The execution of the scheme, projected by the emperor for this campaign, was prevented by the death of his general, the elector of Saxony, which happened on the fecond day of September. His affairs wore a more favourable aspect in Hungary, where the Turks were totally defeated by prince Louis of Baden, on the banks of the

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The Imperialists afterwards undertook the fiege of Great Waradin, in Transylvania; but this was turned into a blockade, and the place was not furrendered till the following fpring. The Turks were fo dispirited by the defeat by which they had loft the grand vifir, that the emperor might have made peace upon very advantageous terms; but his pride and ambition overshot He was weak, vain, and fuperstitious; his fuccess. he imagined that, now the war of Ireland was almost extinguished, king William, with the rest of his allies, would be able to humble the French power, though he himself should not co-operate with heretics, whom he abhorred; and that, in the mean time, he should not only make an entire conquest of Transylvania, but also carry his victorious arms to the gates of Constantinople, according to some ridiculous prophecy by which his vanity had been flattered. The Spanish government was become so feeble, that the ministry, rather than be at the expence of defending the Netherlands, offered to deliver the whole country to king William, either as monarch of England, or stadtholder of the United Provinces. He declined this offer, because he knew the people would never be reconciled to a protestant government; but he proposed that the Spaniards should confer the administration of Flanders upon the elector of Bavaria, who was ambitious of fignalizing his courage, and able to defend the country with his own troops and treasure. This proposal was relished by the court of Spain: The emperor imparted it to the elector, who accepted the office without hefitation; and he was immediately declared governor of the Low-Countries by the council of state at Madrid. King William, after his return from the army, continued fome time at the Hague, fettling the operations of the enfuing campaign. That affair being discussed, he embarked in the Maese, and landed in England on the nineteenth day of October.

§ VIII. Before we explain the proceedings in parliament, it will be necessary to give a detail of the late transactions in Ireland. In the beginning of the season the French king had sent a large supply of provision, clothes,

and ammunition, for the use of the Irish at Limerick. under the conduct of monsieur St. Ruth, accompanied by a great number of French officers, furnished with committions from king James, though St. Ruth iffued all his orders in the name of Louis. Tyrconnel had arrived in January, with three frigates and nine veffels, laden with fuccours of the same nature; otherwise the Irish could not have been fo long kept together. Nor, indeed, could these supplies prevent them from forming separate and independent bands of rapparees, who plundered the country, and committed the most shocking barbarities. The lords justices, in conjunction with general Ginckel, had taken every flep their prudence could fuggest, to quiet the diffurbances of the country, and prevent fuch violence and rapine; of which the foldiers in king William's army were not entirely innocent. The justices had iffued proclamations, denouncing fevere penalties against those who should countenance or conceal such acts of cruelty and oppression: They promised to protect all papifts who should live quietly within a certain frontier line: And Ginckel gave the catholic rebels to understand, that he was authorised to treat with them, if they were inclined to return to their duty. Before the armies took the field feveral skirmishes had been fought between parties; and these had always turned out so unfortunate to the enemy, that their spirits were quite depressed, while the confidence of the English rose in the fame proportion.

§ IX. St. Ruth and Tyrconnel were joined by the rapparees, and general Ginckel was reinforced by Mackay, with those troops which had reduced the Highlanders in Scotland. Thus strengthened, he, in the beginning of June, marched from Mullingar to Ballymore, which was garrifoned by a thousand men, under colonel Bourke, who, when summoned to surrender, returned an evasive answer: But, when a breach was made in the place, and the besiegers began to make preparations for a general assault, his men laid down their arms, and submitted at discretion. The fortifications of this place being repaired and augmented, the general

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left a garrison for its defence, and advanced to Athlone, fituated on the other fide of the Shannon, and, supported by the Irish army, encamped almost under its walls. The English town, on the hither side of the river, was taken fword in hand; and the enemy broke down an arch of the bridge in their retreat. Batteries were raised against the Irish town, and several unsuccessful attempts were made to force the paffage of the bridge, which was defended with great vigour. At length it was resolved, in a council of war, that a detachment should pass at a ford a little to the left of the bridge, though the river was deep and rapid, the bottom foul and stony, and the pass guarded by a ravelin, erected for that purpose. The forlown hope confifted of fixty grenadiers in armour, headed by captain Sandys and two lieutenants: They were feconded by another detachment, and this was fupported by fix battalions of infantry. Never was a more desperate service, nor was ever exploit performed with more valour and intrepidity. They passed twenty a-breast, in the face of the enemy; through an incessant shower of balls, bullets, and grenades. Those who followed them took poffession of the bridge, and laid planks over the broken arch. Pontoons were fixed at the fame time, that the troops might pass in different places. The Irish were amazed, confounded, and abandoned the town in the utmost consternation; so that, in half an hour, it was wholly fecured by the English, who did not lose above fifty men in this attack. Mackay, Tetteau, and Ptolemache, exhibited proofs of the most undaunted courage in passing the river; and general Ginckel, for his conduct, intrepidity, and fuccess, on this occasion, was created earl of Athlone. When St. Ruth was informed, by express, that the English had entered the river, he faid, it was impossible they should pretend to take a town which he covered with his army; and that he would give a thousand pistoles if they would attempt to force a passage. Sarsfield insisted upon the truth of the intelligence, and pressed him to send succours to the town. He ridiculed this officer's fears; and fome warm expostulation passed between them. Being at length convinced K 3

that the English were in possession of the place, he or dered some detachments to drive them out again; but, the cannon of their own works being turned against them, they found the task impracticable; and that very night their army decamped. St. Ruth, after a march of ten miles; took post at Aghrim; and having, by drafts from garrisons, augmented his army to five-and-twenty thousand men, resolved to hazard a decisive engagement.

& X. Ginckel having put Athlone in a posture of defence, passed the Shannon, and marched up to the enemy, determined to give them battle; though his forces did not exceed eighteen thousand, and the Irish were posted in a very advantageous fituation. St Ruth had made an admirable disposition, and taken every precaution that military skill could suggest. His centre extended along a rifing ground, uneven in many places, interfected with banks and ditches, joined by lines of communication, and fronted by a large bog, almost impassable. His right was fortified with entrenchments, and his left fecured by the castle of Aghrim. He harangued his army in the most pathetic strain, conjuring them to exert their courage in defence of their holy religion, in the extirpation of herefy, in recovering their ancient honours and estates, and in restoring a pious king to the throne, from whence he had been expelled by an unnatural usurper. He employed the priefts to enforce his exhortations; to affure the men that they might depend upon the prayers of the church; and that, in case they should fall in battle, the faints and angels would convey their fouls to heaven. They are faid to have fworn upon the facrament that they would not defert their colours, and to have received an order that no quarter should be given to the French heretics in the army of the prince of Orange. Ginckel had encamped on the Roscommon fide of the river Suc, within three miles of the enemy. After having reconnoitred their posture, he refolved, with the advice of a council of war, to attack them on Sunday, the twelfth day of July. The necessary orders being given, the army passed the river at two fords and a stone bridge,

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bridge, and, advancing to the edge of the great bog, began about twelve o'clock to force the two passages, in order to possess the ground on the other side. The enemy fought with furprising fury, and the horse were feveral times repulfed; but at length, the troops upon the right carried their point by means of some field-The day was now fo far advanced, that the general determined to postpone the battle till the next morning; but perceiving some disorder among the enemy, and fearing they would decamp in the night, he altered his resolution, and ordered the attack to be renewed. At fix o'clock in the evening the left wing of the English advanced to the right of the Irish, from whom they met with fuch a warm and obstinate reception, that it was not without the most furprising efforts of courage and perseverance that they at length obliged them to give ground; and even then they lost it by inches. St. Ruth, seeing them in danger of being overpowered, immediately detached fuccours to their from his centre and left wing. Mackay no fooner perceived them weakened by these detachments, than he ordered three battalions to skirt the bog, and attack them on the left, while the centre advanced through the middle of the morals, the men wading up to the waift in mud and water. After they had reached the other fide, they found themselves obliged to ascend a rugged hill, fenced with hedges and ditches; and thefe were lined with musqueteers, supported, at proper intervals, with foundrons of cavalry. They made fuch a desperate resistance, and fought with such impetuosity, that the affailants were repulfed into the middle of the bog with great lofs; and St. Ruth exclaimed—" Now "will I drive the English to the gates of Dublin." In this critical conjuncture Ptolemache came up with a fresh body to fustain them, rallied the broken troops, and renewed the charge with fuch vigour, that the Irish gave way in their turn, and the English recovered the ground they had loft, though they found it impossible to improve their advantage. Mackay brought a body of horse and dragoons to the affiftance of the left wing, and at first turned the tide of battle in favour of the English. jor-

jor-general Rouvigny, who had behaved with great gallantry during the whole action, advanced with five regiments of cavalry to support the centre, when St. Ruth, perceiving his design, resolved to fall upon him in a dangerous hollow way, which he was obliged to pass. For this purpose, he began to descend Kircommodon-hill with his whole referve of horse; but in his way was killed by a cannon-ball. His troops immediately halted, and his guards retreated with his body. His fate difpirited the troops, and produced such confusion as Saiffield could not remedy; for though he was next in command, he had been at variance with St. Ruth fince the affair at Athlone, and was ignorant of the plan he had concerted. Rouvigny, having passed the hollow way without opposition, charged the enemy in flank, and bore down all before him with furprifing impetuofity: The centre redoubled their efforts, and pushed the Irish to the top of the hill; and then the whole line giving way at once, from right to left, threw down their arms. The foot fled towards a bog in their rear, and their horfe took the route by the highway to Loughneagh: Both were purfued by the English cavalry, who, for four miles, made a terrible flaughter. In the battle, which lafted two hours, and in the purfuit, above four thousand of the enemy were flain, and fix hundred taken, together with all their baggage, tents, provision, ammunition, and artillery, nine-and-twenty pair of colours, twelve standards, and almost all the arms of the infantry. In a word, the victory was decifive, and not above eight hundred of the English were killed upon the field of battle. The vanquished retreated in great confusion to Limerick, where they resolved to make a final stand, in hope of receiving such succours from France as would either enable them to retrieve their affairs, or obtain good terms from the court of England. There Tyrconnel died of a broken heart, after having furvived his authority and reputation. He had incurred the contempt of the French, as well as the hatred of the Irish, whom he had advised to submit to the new government,

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§ XI. Immediately after the battle, detachments were fent to reduce Portumny, Bonnachar, and Moor-castle, confiderable paffes on the Shannon, which were accordingly fecured. Then Ginckel advanced to Galway, which he fummoned to furrender; but he received a dehance from lord Dillon and general d'Uffone, who commanded the garrison. The trenches were immediately opened; a fort which commanded the approaches to the town, was taken by affault; fix regiments of foot, and four squadrons of horse, passed the river on pontoons; and the place being wholly invested, the governor thought proper to capitulate. The garrison marched out with the honours of war, and was allowed fafe conduct to. Limerick. Ginckel directed his march to the same town, which was the only post of consequence that now held out for king James. Within four miles of the place he halted, until the heavy cannon could be brought from Athlone. Hearing that Luttrel had been feized by the French general d'Ussone, and sentenced to be shot for having proposed to furrender, he sent a trumpet, to tell the commander, that if any person should be put to death for fuch a propofal, he would make retaliation on the Irish prisoners. On the twenty-fifth day of August the enemy were driven from all their advanced posts; captain Cole, with a fquadron of ships, sailed up the Shannon, and his frigates anchored in light of the town. On the twenty-fixth day of the month the batteries were opened, and a line of contravallation was formed: The Irish army lay encamped on the other side of the river, on the road to Killalow; and the fords were guarded with four regiments of their dragoons. On the fifth day of September, after the town had been almost laid in ruins by the bombs, and large breaches made in the walls by the battering cannon, the guns were difmounted, the out-forts evacuated, and fuch other motions made as indicated a refolution to abandon the fiege. The enemy expressed their joy with loud acclamations; but this was of short continuance. In the night the be-

fiegers began to throw a bridge of pontoons over the river, about a mile higher up than the camp; and this work was finished before morning. A considerable body of horse and foot had passed when the alarm was given to the enemy, who were feized with fuch confternation that they threw down their arms and betook themselves to flight, leaving behind them their tents, baggage, two pieces of cannon, and one standard. The bridge was immediately removed nearer the town, and fortified: all the fords and passes were secured, and the batteries continued firing inceffantly till the twenty-second day of the month, when Ginckel passed over with a division of the army, and fourteen pieces of cannon. About four in the afternoon the grenadiers attacked the forts that commanded Thomond-bridge, and carried them, fword in hand, after an obstinate refistance. The garrison had made a fally from the town to support them; and this detachment was driven back with fuch precipitation, that the French officer on command in that quarter, fearing the English would enter pell-mell with the fugitives, ordered the bridge to be drawn up, leaving his own men to the fury of a victorious enemy. Six hundred were killed, two hundred taken prisoners, including many officers, and a great number were drowned in the Shannon.

§ XII. Then the English made a lodgment within te paces of the bridge-foot; and the Irish, seeing themselves furrounded on all fides, determined to capitulate. General Sarsfield and colonel Wahop fignified their refolution to Scravenmore and Rouvigny: Hostages were exchanged; a negociation was immediately begun, and hostilities ceased on both sides of the river. The lords justices arrived in the camp on the first day of October, and on the fourth the capitulation was executed, extending to all the places in the kingdom that were fill in the hands of the Irish. The Roman catholics were restored to the enjoyment of such liberty in the exercise of religion as was confistent with the laws of Ireland, and conformable with that which they possessed in the reign of Charles II. All persons whatever were entitled

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to the protection of those laws, and restored to the posfellion of their estates, privileges, and immunities, upon their submitting to the present government, and taking the oath of allegiance to their majesties king William and queen Mary, excepting, however, certain persons who were forfeited or exiled. This article even extended to all merchants of Limerick, or any other garrison potfeffed by the Irish, who happened to be abroad, and had not borne arms fince the declaration in the first year of the present reign, provided they should return within the term of eight months. All the persons comprised in this and the foregoing article were indulged with a genetal pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanors whatsoever committed fince the beginning of the reign of James II.; and the lords justices promised to use their best endeavours towards the reverfal of fuch attainders and outlawries as had passed against any of them in parliament. In order to allay the violence of party, and extinguish private animofities, it was agreed, that no perfon should be fued or impleaded on either fide for any trespass, or made accountable for the rents, tenements, lands, or houses he had received or enjoyed since the beginning of the war. Every nobleman and gentleman, comprised in these articles, was authorised to keep a sword, a case of pistols, and a gun, for his defence or amusement. The inhabitants of Limerick and other garrisons, were permitted to remove their goods and chattels without fearch, vilitation, or payment of duty. The lords justices promised to use their best endeavours that all persons comprehended in this capitulation, should for eight months be protected from all arrests and executions for debt or damage: They undertook, that their majesties should ratify these articles within the space of eight months, and ule their endeavours that they might be ratified and conhrmed in parliament. The subsequent article was calculated to indemnify colonel John Brown, whose estate and effects had been feized for the use of the Irish army by Tyrconnel and Sarsfield, which last had been created lord

lord Lucan by king James, and was now mentioned by that title. All persons were indulged with free leave to remove with their families and effects to any other coun. try, except England and Scotland. All officers and foldiers in the fervice of king James, comprehending even the rapparees, willing to go beyond fea, were at liberty to march in bodies to the places of embarkation, to be conveyed to the continent with the French officers and troops. They were furnished with passports, convoys, and carriages by land and water; and general Ginckel engaged to provide seventy ships, if necessary, for their transportation, with two men of war for the accommodation of their officers, and to ferve as a convoy to the fleet. It was stipulated, That the provisions and forage for their subfistence should be paid for on their arrival in France: That hostages should be given for this indemnification, as well as for the return of the ships: That all the garrifons should march out of their respective towns and fortresses with the honours of war: That the Irish-should have liberty to transport nine hundred horses: That those who should choose to stay behind, might dispose of themselves according to their own fancy, after having furrendered their arms to fuch committioners as the general should appoint: That all prisoners of war should be fet at liberty on both fides: That the general should provide two veffels to carry over two different persons to France, with intimation of this treaty: And, That none of those who were willing to quit the kingdom should be detained on account of debt, or any other pretence.—This is the substance of the famous treaty of Limerick, which the Irish Roman-catholics confidered as the great charter of their civil and religious liberties. The town of Limerick was furrendered to Ginckel; but both fides agreed, that the two armies should entrench themselves till the Irish could embark, that no disorders might arise from a communica-

§ XIII. The protestant subjects of Ireland were extremely disgusted at these concessions, made in favour of vanquished rebels, who had exercised such acts of cruelty

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and rapine. They complained, That they themselves, who had suffered for their loyalty to king William, were neglected, and obliged to fit down with their loffes, while their enemies, who had shed so much blood in oppoling his government, were indemnified by the articles of the capitulation, and even favoured with particular indulgences. They were dismissed with the honours of war: They were transported at the government's expence, to fight against the English in foreign countries: An honourable provision was made for the rapparees, who were a professed banditti: The Roman-catholic interest in Ireland obtained the fanction of regal authority: Attainders were overlooked, forfeitures annulled, pardons extended, and laws fet aside, in order to effect a pacification. Ginckel had received orders to put an end to the war at any rate, that William might convert his whole influence and attention to the affairs of the continent. When the articles of capitulation were ratified, and hostages exchanged for their being duly executed, about two thousand Irish foot, and three hundred horse, began their march for Cork, where they proposed to take shipping for France, under the conduct of Sarsfield; but three regiments refusing to quit the kingdom, delivered up their arms, and dispersed to their former habitations. Those who remained at Limerick embarked on the feventh day of November, in French transports; and failed immediately to France, under the convoy of a French fquadron which had arrived in the bay of Dangle immediately after the capitulation was figned. Twelve thoufand men chose to undergo exile from their native country, rather than submit to the government of king William. When they arrived in France they were welcomed by a letter from James, who thanked them for their loyalty; affured them they should still serve under his commission and command; and that the king of France had already given orders for their being new clothed, and put into quarters of refreshment.

§ XIV. The reduction of Ireland being thus completed, baron Ginckel returned to England, where he was folemnly thanked by the house of commons for his

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great services, after he had been created earl of Athlone by his majesty. When the parliament met on the twenty-second day of October, the king, in his speech, infifted upon the necessity of sending a strong fleet to sea early in the feafon, and of maintaining a confiderable army to annoy the enemy abroad, as well as to protect the kingdom from infult and invalion; for which purposes, he said, fixty-five thousand men would be barely fufficient. Each house presented an address of congratulation upon his majesty's fafe return to England, and on the reduction of Ireland: They promifed to affift him, to the utmost of their power, in prosecuting the war with France; and, at the same time, drew up ad. dreffes to the queen, acknowledging her prudent administration during his majesty's absence. Notwithstand. ing this appearance of cordiality and complaifance, a spirit of discontent had infinuated itself into both houses of parliament, and even infected great part of the nation.

§ XV. A great number of individuals, who wished well to their country, could not, without anxiety and refentment, behold the interest of the nation sacrificed to foreign connections; and the king's favour so partially bestowed upon Dutchmen, in prejudice to his English Subjects. They observed, That the number of forces he demanded was confiderably greater than that of any army which had ever been paid by the public, even when the nation was in the most imminent danger: That, instead of contributing as allies to the maintenance of the war upon the continent, they had embarked as principals, and bore the greatest part of the burthen, though they had the least share of the profit. They even infinuated, that fuch a flanding army was more calculated to make the king absolute at home than to render him formidable abroad; and the secret friends of the late king did not fail to inforce their infinuations. They renewed their animadversions upon the disagreeable part of, his character: They dwelt upon his proud referve, his fullen filence, his imperious disposition, and his base ingratitude, particularly to the earl of Marlborough, whom he

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had dismissed from all his employments immediately after the fignal exploits he had performed in Ireland. The differace of this nobleman was partly ascribed to the freedom with which he had complained of the king's undervaluing his fervices, and partly to the intrigues of his wife, who had gained an afcendancy over the princefs Anne, of Denmark; and is faid to have employed her influence in fomenting a jealousy between the two fifters. The malcontents of the Whigish faction, enraged to find their credit declining at court, joined in the cry which the Jacobites had raifed against the government. They scrupled not to say, That the arts of corruption were thamefully practifed to fecure a majority in parliament: That the king was as tender of the prerogative as any of his predeceffors had ever been: And, That he even ventured to admit Jacobites into his council, because they were the known tools of arbitrary power. These reflections alluded to the earls of Rochester and Ranelagh, who, with fir Edward Seymour, had been lately created privy-counsellors. Rochester entertained very high notions of regal authority: He proposed severity as one of the best supports of government; was clear in his understanding, violent in his temper, and incurrupt in his principles. Ranelagh was a man of parts and pleasure, who possessed the most plausible and winning address; and was capable of transacting the most important and intricate affairs in the midst of riot and debauchery. He had managed the revenue of Ireland in the reign of Charles II: He enjoyed the office of paymaster in the army of king James; and now maintained the same footing under the government of William and Mary. Sir Edward Seymour was the proudest commoner in England, and the boldest orator that ever filled the speaker's chair. He was intimately acquainted with the business of the house, and knew every individual member fo exactly, that with one glance of his eye he could prognosticate the fate of every motion. He had opposed the court with great acrimony, questioned the king's title, cenfured his conduct, and reflected upon L 2

his character. Nevertheless, he now became a prose-

lyte, and was brought into the treasury.

& XVI. The commons voted three millions, four hundred-and-eleven thousand, six hundred-and-seventyfive pounds for the use of the ensuing year: But the establishment of funds for raising these supplies was retarded, partly by the ill-humour of the opposition, and partly by intervening affairs that diverted the attention of the commons. Several eminent merchants presented a petition to the house against the East India company, charging them with manifold abuses; at the same time, a counter-petition was delivered by the company, and the affair referred to the examination of a committee appointed for that purpole. After a minute enquiry into the nature of the complaints, the commons voted certain regulations with respect to the stock and the traffic; and refolved to petition his majesty, that, according to the faid regulations, the East India company should be incorporated by charter. The committee was ordered to bring in a bill for this establishment; but divers petitions being presented against it, and the company's anfwers proving unfatisfactory, the house addressed the king to disfolve it, and grant a charter to a new company. He faid it was an affair of great importance to the trade of the kingdom; therefore he would confider the subject, and in a little time return a positive answer. The parliament was likewise amused by a pretended conspiracy of the papists in Lancashire, to raise a rebellion, and restore James to the throne. Several persons were feized, and fome witneffes examined; but nothing appeared to justify the information. At length one Fuller, a prisoner in the king's bench, offered his evidence, and was brought to the bar of the house of commons, where he produced fome papers. He obtained a blank pass from the king for two persons, who, he said, would come from the continent to give evidence. He was afterwards examined at his own lodgings, where he affirmed, that colonel Thomas Delaval and James Hayes were the witnesses for whom he had procured the pass and the protection. Search was made for them, accordThe chea

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ing to his direction; but no fuch persons were found. Then the house declared Fuller a notorious impostor, cheat, and salse accuser. He was, at the request of the commons, prosecuted by the attorney-general, and sentenced to stand in the pillory; a disgrace, which he ac-

cordingly underwent.

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§ XVII. A bill for regulating trials in cases of hightreason having been laid aside by the lords in the preceding fession, was now again brought upon the carpet, and passed the lower house. The design of this bill was to fecure the subject from the rigours to which he had been exposed in the late reigns: It provided, That the prifoner should be furnished with a copy of his indictment, as also of the pannel, ten days before his trial; and, That his witnesses should be examined upon oath, as well as those of the crown. The lords, in their own behalf, added a clause, enacting, That upon the trials of any peer or peerels, for treason or misprission of treafon, all the peers who have a right to fit and vote in parliament should be duly summoned to affist at the trial: That this notice should be given twenty days before the trial: And, That every peer fo fummoned, and appearing, should vote upon the occasion. The commons rejected this amendment; and a free conference enfued. The point was argued with great vivacity on both fides, which ferved only to inflame the dispute, and render each party the more tenacious of their own opinion. three conferences that produced nothing but animofity, the bill was dropped; for the commons refolved to bear the hardships of which they complained, rather than be relieved at the expence of purchasing a new privilege to the lords; and without this advantage, the peers would not contribute to their relief.

§ XVIII. The next object that engrossed the attention of the lower house was the miscarriage of the fleet during the summer's expedition. Admiral Russel, who commanded at sea, having been joined by the Dutch squadron, sailed in quest of the enemy; but as the French king had received undoubted intelligence that the combined squadrons were superior to his navy in number of

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thips and weight of metal, he ordered Tourville to avoid an engagement. This officer acted with fuch vigilance. caution, and dexterity, as baffled all the endeavours of Ruffel, who was, moreover, perplexed with obscure and contradictory orders. Nevertheless he cruized all summer, either in the Channel or in foundings, for the protection of the trade, and, in particular, fecured the homeward-bound Smyrna fleet, in which the English and Dutch had a joint concern, amounting to four millions sterling. Having scoured the Channel, and failed along great part of the French coaft, he returned to Torbay in the beginning of August, and received fresh orders to put to fea again, notwithstanding his repeated remonstrances against exposing large ships to the storms that always blow about the time of the equinox. He therefore failed back to foundings, where he continued cruizing till the second day of September, when he was overtaken by a violent tempest, which drove him into the Channel, and obliged him to make for the port of Plymouth. The weather being hazy, he reached the Sound with great difficulty: The Coronation, a fecondrate, foundered at anchor off Ram-head: The Harwich, a third-rate, bulged upon the rocks, and perished: Two others ran ashore, but were got off with little damage. But the whole fleet was fcattered and distreffed. The nation murmured at the supposed misconduct of the admiral, and the commons subjected him to an enquiry; but, when they examined his papers, orders, and instructions, they perceived he had adhered to them with great punctuality; and thought proper to drop the profecution, out of tenderness to the ministry. Then the house took into consideration some letters which had been intercepted in a French ship taken by sir Ralph Delaval. Three of these are said to have been written by king James, and the rest sealed with his seal. They related to the plan of an infurrection in Scotland, and in the northern parts of England. Legge lord Dartmouth, with one Crew, being mentioned in them as agents and abettors in the defign, warrants were immediately iffued against them. Crew absconded, but lord Dartmouth

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was committed to the Tower. Lord Preston was examined touching some cyphers which they could not explain, and, pretending ignorance, was imprisoned in Newgate; from whence, however, he soon obtained his release. The funds for the supplies of the ensuing year being established, and several acts * passed relating to domestic regulations, the king, on the twenty-sourch day of February, closed the session with a short speech, thanking the parliament for their demonstrations of affection in the liberal supplies they had granted, and communicating his intention of repairing speedily to the continent. Then the two houses, at his desire, adjourned themselves to the twelsth day of April; and the parliament was afterwards prorogued to the twenty-ninth of

May, by proclamation +. & XIX. The king had fuffered fo much in his reputation by his complaifance to the presbyterians of Scotland, and was fo displeased with the conduct of that stubborn sect of religionists, that he thought proper to admit some prelatists into the administration. Johnston, who had been fent envoy to the elector of Brandenburgh, was recalled, and, with the master of Stair, made jointfecretary of Scotland; Melvil, who had declined in his importance, was made lord privy-feal of that kingdom; Tweedale was constituted lord chancellor: Crawford retained the office of president of the council; and Lothian was appointed high commissioner to the general affembly. The parliament was adjourned to the fifteenth day of April, because it was not yet compliant enough to be affembled with fafety; and the episcopal clergy were admitted to a share of the church-government. These measures, instead of healing the divisions, ferved only to inflame the animofity of the two parties. The episcopalians triumphed in the king's favour, and began to treat their antagonists with insolence and scorn: The presbyterians were incensed to see their friends difgraced, and their enemies diftinguished by the royal indul-

^{*} See note [I] at the end of the volume.

⁺ See note [K] at the end of the volume.

gence. They infifted upon the authority of the law, which happened to be upon their fide; they became more than ever four, furly, and implacable; they refused to concur with the prelatifts, or abate in the least circumstances of discipline; and the assembly was dissolved, without any time or place assigned for the next meeting. The presbyterians pretended an independent right of assembling annually, even without a call from his majesty; they therefore adjourned themselves, after having protested against the dissolution. The king resented this measure as an insolent invasion of the prerogative, and conceived an aversion to the whole sect; who, in their turn, began to lose all respect for his person and government.

& XX. As the Highlanders were not yet totally reduced, the earl of Breadalbane undertook to bring them over, by distributing sums of money among their chiefs; and fifteen thousand pounds were remitted from England for this purpose. The clans being informed of this remittance, suspected that the earl's design was to appropriate to himself the best part of the money; and when he began to treat with them, made fuch extravagant demands that he found his scheme impracticable. He was therefore obliged to refund the fum he had received; and he resolved to wreak his vengeance, with the first opportunity, on those who had frustrated his intention. He who chiefly thwarted his negociation was Macdonald of Glencoe, whose opposition rose from a private circumftance, which ought to have had no effect upon a treaty that regarded the public weal. Macdonald had plundered the lands of Breadalbane during the course of hostilities; and this nobleman insisted upon being indemnified for his losses from the other's share of the money which he was employed to distribute. The Highlander not only refused to acquiesce in these terms, but by his influence among the clans, defeated the whole scheme; and the earl, in revenge, devoted him to destruction. King William had, by proclamation, offered an indemnity to all those who had been in arms against him, provided they would fubmit and take the oath by . SOMEON

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a certain day; and this was prolonged to the close of the present year, with a denunciation of military execution against those who should hold out after the end of December. Macdonald, intimidated by this declaration, repaired on the very last day of the month to Fort-William, and defired that the oaths might be tendered to him, by colonel Hill, governor of that for refs. As this officer was not vested with the power of a civil magifirate, he refused to administer them; and Macdonald fet out immediately for Inverary, the county-town of Argyle. Though the ground was covered with fnow, and the weather intenfely cold, he travelled with fuch diligence that the term prescribed by the proclamation was but one day elapsed when he reached the place; and addressed himself to fir John Campbell, sherisf of the county, who, in confideration of his disappointment at Fort-William, was prevailed upon to administer the oaths to him and his adherents. Then they returned to their own habitations in the valley of Glencoe, in full confidence of being protected by the government, to which they had fo folemnly fubmitted.

§ XXI. Breadalbane had represented Macdonald at court as an incorrigible rebel, as a ruffian, inured to bloodshed and rapine, who would never be obedient to the laws of his country, nor live peaceably under any fovereign. He observed that he had paid no regard to the proclamation, and proposed that the government should facrifice him to the quiet of the kingdom, in extirpating him, with his family and dependents, by military execution. His advice was supported by the suggestions of the other Scottish ministers; and the king, whose chief virtue was not humanity, figned a warrant for the destruction of those unhappy people, though it does not appear that he knew of Macdonald's fubmilfion. An order for this barbarous execution, figned and counterfigned by his majesty's own hand, being transmitted to the master of Stair, secretary for Scotland, this minister sent particular directions to Livingstone, who commanded the troops in that kingdom, to put the inhabitants of Glencoe to the fword, charging him to take

no prisoners, that the scene might be more terrible. In the month of February captain Campbell, of Glenlyon, by virtue of an order from major Duncanson, marched into the valley of Glencoe, with a company of foldiers belonging to Argyle's regiment, on pretence of levying the arrears of the land-tax and hearth-money. When Macdonald demanded whether they came as friends or enemies, he answered, as friends; and promised, upon his honour, that neither he nor his people should fustain the least injury. In consequence of this declaration he and his men were received with the most cordial hospitality, and lived fifteen days with the men of the valley in all the appearance of the most unreserved friendship. At length the fatal period approached. Macdonald and Campbell having passed the day together, parted about feven in the evening, with mutual professions of the warmest affection. The younger Macdonald, perceiving the guards doubled, began to suspect some treachery, and communicated his fuspicion to his brother; but neither he nor the father would harbour the least doubt of Campbell's fincerity: Nevertheless, the two young men went forth privately to make further observations. They overheard the common foldiers fay they liked not the work; that though they would have willingly fought the Macdonalds of the Glen fairly in the field, they held it base to murther them in cool blood, but that their officers were answerable for the treachery. When the youths hafted back to apprife the father of the impending danger, they faw the house already surrounded; they heard the discharge of muskets, the shrieks of women and children, and being destitute of arms, secured their own lives by immediate flight. The favage ministers of vengeance had entered the old man's chamber, and flot him through the head. He fell down dead in the arms of his wife, who died next day, diffracted by the horror of her husband's fate. The laird of Auchintrincken, Macdonald's guest, who had three months before this period submitted to the government, and at this very time had a protection in his pocket, was put to death without question. A boy of eight years, who fell at Campbell's

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Campbell's feet, imploring mercy, and offering to ferve him for life, was stabbed to the heart by one Drummond, a subaltern officer. Eight-and-thirty persons suffered in this manner; the greater part of whom were furprifed in their beds, and hurried into eternity before they had time to implore the Divine Mercy. The design was to butcher all the males under feventy, that lived in the valley, the number of whom amounted to two hundred; but some of the detachments did not arrive soon enough to fecure the passes; so that one hundred-and-fixty escaped. Campbell, having perpetrated this brutal masfacre, ordered all the houses to be burned, made a prey of all the cattle and effects that were found in the valley, end left the helpless women and children, whose fathers and husbands he had murthered, naked and forlorn, without covering, food, or shelter, in the midst of the snow that covered the whole face of the country, at the distance of fix long miles from any inhabited place. Distracted with grief and horror, furrounded with the shades of night, shivering with cold, and appalled with the apprehension of immediate death from the swords of those who had sacrificed their friends and kinsmen, they could not endure fuch a complication of calamities, but generally perished in the waste, before they could receive the least comfort or affistance. This barbarous massacre, performed under the fanction of king William's authority, answered the immediate purpose of the court, by striking terror into the hearts of the Jacobite Highlanders; but, at the same time, excited the horror of all those who had not renounced every fentiment of humanity; and produced fuch an aversion to the government, as all the arts of a ministry could never totally furmount. detail of the particulars was published at Paris, with many exaggerations; and the Jacobites did not fail to expatiate upon every circumstance, in domestic libels and private conversation. The king, alarmed at the outcry which was raifed upon this occasion, ordered an enquiry to be set on foot, and dismissed the master of Stair from his employment of secretary: He likewise pretended that he had subscribed the order amidit a heap of other papers, without

without knowing the purport of it: But, as he did not feverely punish those who had made his authority subfervient to their own cruel revenge, the imputation stuck fast to his character; and the Highlanders, though terrified into silence and submission, were inspired with the most implacable resentment against his person and administration.

1692. § XXII. A great number in both kingdoms waited impatiently for an opportunity to declare in behalf of their exiled monarch; who was punctually informed of all these transactions, and endeavoured to make his advantage of the growing discontent. King William, having fettled the domestic affairs of the nation, and exerted uncommon care and affiduity in equipping a formidable fleet, embarked for Holland on the fifth day of March, and was received by the States-General with expressions of the most cordial regard. While he was here employed in promoting the measures of the grand confederacy, the French king refolved to invade England in his absence, and seemed heartily engaged in the interest of James; whose emissaries in Britain began to beftir themselves with uncommon affiduity, in preparing the nation for his return. One Lant, who was imprifoned on fuspicion of distributing his commissions, had the good fortune to be released; and the papists of Lancashire dispatched him to the court of St. Germain, with an affurance that they were in a condition to receive their old fovereign. He returned with advice that king James would certainly land in the fpring; and that colonel Parker and other officers should be sent over with full instructions, touching their conduct at and before the king's arrival. Parker accordingly repaired to England, and made the Jacobites acquainted with the whole scheme of a descent, which Louis had actually concerted with the late king. He affured them, that their lawful fovereign would once more visit his British dominions at the head of thirty thousand effective men, to be embarked at La Hogue; that the transports were already prepared, and a strong squadron equipped for their convoy: He, therefore, exhorted them to be speedy and fecre nefs tion. to h but, fet f

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fecret in their preparations, that they might be in readiness to take arms, and co-operate in effecting his restoration. This officer, and one Johnson, a priest, are said to have undertaken the assassination of king William; but, before they could execute their design, his majesty set sail for Holland.

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& XXIII. Meanwhile James addressed a letter to several lords, who had been formerly members of his council, as well as to divers ladies of quality and diffinetion, intimating the pregnancy of his queen, and requiring them to attend as witnesses at the labour. He took notice of the injury his family and honour had fustained from the cruel afperfions of his enemies concerning the birth of his son; and as Providence had now favoured him with an opportunity of refuting the calumny of those who affirmed that the queen was incapable of childbearing, he affured them, in the name of his brother, the French king, as well as upon his own royal word, that they should have free leave to visit his court, and return after the labour *. This invitation, however, no person would venture to accept. He afterwards employed his emissaries in circulating a printed declaration, importing, that the king of France had enabled him to make another effort to retrieve his crown; and that, although he was furnished with a number of troops sufficient to unite the hands of his subjects, he did not intend to deprive them of their share in the glory of restoring their lawful king and their ancient government. He exhorted the people to join his standard. He asfured them that the foreign auxiliaries should behave

^{*} The letter was directed not only for privy-counsellors, but also to the duchesses of Somerset and Beaufort, the marchiouess of Hallisax, the countesses of Derby, Mulgrave, Rutland, Brooks, Nottingham, Lumley, and Danby; the ladies Fitzharding and Fretchville; those of fir John Trevor, speaker of the house of commons, sir Edward Seymour, sir Christopher Musgrave; the wives of fir Thomas Stamford, lord-mayor of London, sir William Ashurst and sir Richard Levert, the sherists; and, lastly, to Dr. Chamberlain, the samous practitioner in midwifery.

with the most regular discipline, and be fent back immediately after his re-establishment. He observed, That when fuch a number of his fubjects were so infatuated as to concur with the unnatural defign of the prince of Orange, he had chosen to rely upon the fidelity of his English army; and refused considerable succours that were offered to him by his most christian majesty: That when he was ready to oppose force with force, he nevertheless offered to give all reasonable satisfaction to his fubjects who had been missed; and endeavoured to open their eyes, with respect to the vain pretences of his adverfary, whose aim was not the reformation but the subversion of the government: That when he faw himself deferted by his army, betrayed by his ministers, abandoned by his favourites, and even his own children, and at last rudely driven from his own palace by a guard of infolent foreigners, he had, for his personal fafety, taken refuge in France: That his retreat from the malice and cruel defigns of the usurper, had been construed into an abdication, and the whole constitution of the monarchy destroyed by a fet of men illegally assembled, who, in fact, had no power to alter the property of the meanest Subject. He expressed his hope that by this time the nation had fairly examined the account; and, from the losses and enormous expence of the three last years, were convinced that the remedy was worse than the disease: That the beginning, like the first years of Nero's reign, would, in all probability, be found the mildest part of the usurpation, and the instruments of the new establishment live to fuffer feverely by the tyranny they had raifed: That even, though the usurpation should continue during his life, an indisputable title would survive in his iffue, and expose the kingdom to all the miseries of a civil war. He not only folicited but commanded his good subjects to join him, according to their duty, and the oaths they had taken. He forbade them to pay taxes or any part of the revenue to the usurper. promised pardon, and even rewards, to all those who should return to their duty, and to procure, in his first parliament, an act of indemnity, with an exception of

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certain persons , whom he now enumerated. He declared that all foldiers who should quit the service of the usurper, and enlist under his banners, might depend upon receiving their pardon and arrears; and that the foreign troops, upon laving down their arms, should be paid and transported to their respective countries. folemnly protested that he would protect and maintain the church of England, as by law established, in all their rights, privileges, and possessions: He signified his refolution to use his influence with the parliament for allowing liberty of conscience to all his subjects, as an indulgence agreeable to the spirit of the christian religion, and conducive to the wealth and prosperity of the nation. He faid his principal care should be to heal the wounds of the late distractions; to restore trade, by observing the act of navigation, which had been lately fo much violated in favour of strangers; to put the navy in a flourishing condition; and to take every step that might contribute to the greatness of the monarchy and the happiness of the people. He concluded with professions of refignation to the Divine Will, declaring, that all who should reject his offers of mercy, and appear in arms against him, would be answerable to Almighty God for all the blood that should be spilt, and all the miseries in which these kingdoms might be involved by their desperate and unreasonable opposition.

MXIV. While this declaration operated variously on the minds of the people, colonel Parker, with some other officers, enlisted men privately for the service of James, in the counties of York, Lancaster, and in the bishopric of Durham: At the same time Fountaine and Holeman were employed in raising two regiments of horse at London, that they might join their master immediately after his landing. His partizans sent captain Lloyd with an express to lord Melsoot, containing a detail of these particulars, with an assurance that they had brought over rear-admiral Carter to the interest of his majesty. They likewise transmitted a list of the ships

^{*} See note [L] at the end of the volume.

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that composed the English sleet; and exhorted James to use his influence with the French king, that the count de Tourville might be ordered to attack them before they should be joined by the Dutch squadron. It was in consequence of this advice that Louis commanded Tourville to fall upon the English sleet, even without waiting for the Toulon squadron, commanded by the marquis d'Etrées. By this time James had repaired to La Hogue, and was ready to embark with his army, consisting of à body of French troops, together with some English and Scotch refugees, and the regiments which had been transported from Ireland by virtue of the capitulation of Limerick.

& XXV. The ministry of England was informed of all these particulars, partly by some agents of lames, who betrayed his cause, and partly by admiral Carter, who gave the queen to understand he had been tampered with; and was inftructed to amuse the Jacobites with a negociation. King William no fooner arrived in Holland than he hastened the naval preparations of the Du ch, fo that their fleet was ready for fea sooner than was expected; and when he received the first intimation of the projected descent, he detached general Prolemache with three of the English regiments from Holland. These, reinforced with other troops remaining in England, were ordered to encamp in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth. The queen issued a proclamation, commanding all papists to depart from London and Westminster: The members of both houses of parliament were required to meet on the twenty-fourth day of May, that she might avail herself of their advice in such perilous conjuncture. Warrants were expedited for apprehending divers dilaffected persons; and they withdrawing themselves from their respective places of abode, a proclamation was published for discovering and bringing them to justice. The earls of Scarsdale, Lichfield, and Newburgh; the lords Griffin, Forbes; fir John Fenwick, fir Theophilus Oglethorpe, and others, found means to elude the fearch. The earls of Huntingdon and Marlborough were fent to the Tower; Edward Ridley, Knevitt, Hastings, and Robert

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Robert Ferguson, were imprisoned in Newgate. The bishop of Rochester was confined to his own house; the lords Brudenel and Fanshaw were secured; the earls of Dunmore, Middleton, and sir Andrew Forrester, were discovered in a quaker's house, and committed to prison, with several other persons of distinction. The trainbands of London and Westminster were armed by the queen's direction, and she reviewed them in person: Admiral Russel was ordered to put to sea with all possible expedition; and Carter, with a squadron of eighteen sail, continued to cruise along the French coast, to observe the

motions of the enemy.

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& XXVI. On the eleventh day of May Russel sailed from Rye to St. Helen's, where he was joined by the fquadrons under Delaval and Carter. There he received a letter from the earl of Nottingham, intimating, that a report having spread of the queen's suspecting the fidelity of the fea-officers, her majefty had ordered him to declare, in her name, that she reposed the most entire confidence in their attachment; and believed the report was miled by the enemies of the government. The flagofficers and captains forthwith drew up a very loval and dutiful address, which was graciously received by the queen, and published for the satisfaction of the nation. Russel, being reinforced by the Dutch squadrons, commanded by Allemonde, Callembergh, and Vandergoes, fet fail for the coast of France on the eighteenth day of May, with a fleet of ninety-nine ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships. Next day, about three o'clock in the morning, he discovered the enemy, under the count de Tourville, and threw out the fignal for the line of battle, which, by eight o'clock, was formed in good order, the Dutch in the van, the blue squadron in the rear, and the red in the centre. The French fleet did not exceed fixty-three ships of the line; and, as they were to windward, Tourville might have avoided an engagement; but he had received a positive order to fight, on the supposition that the Dutch and English squadrons had not joined. Louis, indeed, was apprifed of their junction before they were descried by his ad-M 3

miral, to whom he dispatched a countermanding order by two feveral vessels; but one of them was taken by the English, and the other did not arrive till the day

after the engagement.

& XXVII. Tourville, therefore, in obedience to the first mandate, bore down along-fide of Ruffel's own ship, which he engaged at a very small distance. He fought with great fury till one o'clock, when his rigging and fails being confiderably damaged, his ship, the Rifing-Sun, which carried one hundred-and-four cannons, was towed out of the line in great diforder: Nevertheless, the engagement continued till three, when the fleets were parted by a thick fog. When this abated, the enemy were descried flying to the northward; and Ruffel made the fignal for chacing. Part of the blue fquadron came up with the enemy about eight in the evening, and engaged them half an hour, during which admiral Carter was mortally wounded: Finding himself in extremity, he exhorted his captain to fight as long as the ship could swim; and expired with great composure. At length, the French bore away for Conquet-Road, having lost four ships in this day's action. Next day, about eight in the morning, they were discovered crowding away to the westward; and the combined fleets chaced with all the fail they could carry, until Ruffel's fore-top-mast came by the board. Though he was retarded by this accident, the fleet still continued the pursuit, and anchored near Cape La Hogue. On the twenty-second of the month, about seven in the morning, part of the French fleet was perceived near the Race of Alderney, some at anchor, and some driving to the eastward with the tide of flood. Russel, and the ships nearest him, immediately slipped their cables, and chaced. The Rifing-Sun, having loft her mafts, ran ashore near Cherbourg, where she was burned by fir Ralph Delaval, together with the Admirable, another first-rate, and the Conquerant of eighty guns. Eighteen other ships of their fleet ran into La Hogue, where they were attacked by fir George Rooke, who defroyed them, and a great number of transports laden with ammunition,

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in the midst of a terrible fire from the enemy, and in fight of the Irish camp. Sir John Ashby, with his own foundron and fome Dutch ships, pursued the rest of the French fleet, which escaped through the Race of Alderney, by fuch a dangerous passage as the English could not attempt, without exposing their ships to the most imminent hazard. This was a very mortifying defeat to the French king, who had been to long flattered with an uninterrupted feries of victories: It reduced James to the lowest ebb of despondence, as it frustrated the whole: scheme of his embarkation, and overwhelmed his friends in England with grief and despair. Some historians alledged, that Ruffel did not improve his victory with all advantages that might have been obtained, before the enemy recovered their consternation. They fay, his affection to the fervice was in a good measure cooled by the difgrace of his friend, the earl of Marlborough: That he hated the earl of Nottingham, by whose channel he received his orders: And, That he adhered to the letter, rather than to the spirit of his instructions. But this is a malicious imputation; and a very ungrateful return for his manifold fervices to the nation. He acted in this whole expedition with the genuine spirit of a British admiral. He plyed from the Nore to the Downs with a very fcanty wind, through the dangerous fands, contrary to the advice of all his pilots; and by this bold passage effected a junction of the different squadrons, which otherwise the French would have attacked fingly, and perhaps defeated. He behaved with great gallantry during the engagement; and destroyed about fifteen of the enemy's capital ships. In a word, he obtained fuch a decifive victory, that during the remaining part of the war, the French would not hazard another battle by sea with the English.

§ XXVIII. Russel having ordered fir John Ashby and the Dutch admiral Callembergh, to steer towards Havre de Grace, and endeavour to destroy the remainder of the French sleet, sailed back to St. Helen's, that the damaged ships might be resitted, and the sleet furnished with fresh supplies of provision and ammunition: But his principal

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motive was, to take on board a number of troops provided for a descent upon France, which had been projected by England and Holland, with a view to alarm and distract the enemy in their own dominions. The queen was fo pleased with the victory, that she ordered thirty thousand pounds to be distributed among the failors. She caused medals to be struck in honour of the action; and the bodies of admiral Carter and captain Hastings, who had been killed in the battle, to be interred with great funeral pomp. In the latter end of July feven thousand men, commanded by the duke of Leinster, embarked on board transports, to be landed at St. Maloes, Breft, or Rochfort; and the nation conceived the most fanguine hopes of this expedition. A council of war, confisting of land and fea-officers, being held on board the Breda, to deliberate upon the scheme of the ministry, the members unanimously agreed, that the feason was too far advanced to put it in execution, Nevertheless, the admiral having detached fir John Ashby with a squadron to intercept the remains of the French fleet in their paffage from St. Maloes to Breft, fet fall for La Hogue with the rest of the sleet and transports; but, in a few days, the wind shifting, he was obliged to return to St. Helen's.

& XXIX. The queen immediately dispatched the marquis of Caermarthen, the earls of Devonshire, Dorfet. Nottingham, and Rochester, together with the lords Sidney and Cornwallis, to confult with the admiral, who demonstrated the impracticability of making an effectual descent upon the coast of France at that season of the year. The defign was therefore laid afide; and the forces were transported to Flanders. The higher the hopes of the nation had been raised by this armament, the deeper they felt their disappointment. A loud clamour was railed against the ministry, as the authors of this miscarriage. The people complained, That they were plundered and abused: That immense sums were extorted from them by the most grievous impositions: That, by the infamous expedient of borrowing upon established funds, their taxes were perpetuated: That their burthens would daily

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daily increase: That their treasure was either squandered away in chimerical projects, or expended in foreign connexions, of which England was naturally independent. They were the more excufable for exclaiming in this manner, as their trade had fuffered grievously by the French privateers, which fwarmed in the Channel. vain the merchants had recourfe to the admiralty, which could not spare particular convoys, while large fleets were required for the defence of the nation. The French king, having nothing further to apprehend from the English armament, withdrew his troops from the coast of Normandy; and James returned in despair to St. Germains, where his queen had been in his absence delivered of a daughter, who was born in the prefence of the archbishop of Paris, the keeper of the feals, and other perfons of distinction.

& XXX. Louis had taken the field in the latter end of May. On the twentieth day of that month he arrived at his camp in Flanders, with all the effeminate pomp of an Asiatic emperor, attended by his women and parasites, his band of music, his dancers, his opera; and, in a word, by all the ministers of luxury and fenfual pleafure. Having reviewed his army, which amounted to about one hundred-and-twenty thousand men, he undertook the fiege of Namur; which he invested on both fides of the Sambre with about one half of his army, while the other covered the fiege, under the command of Luxembourg. Namur is fituated on the conflux of the Meuse and the Sambre. The citadal was deemed one of the strongest forts in Flanders, strengthened with a new work contrived by the famous engineer Coehorn, who now defended it in person. The prince de Barbason commanded the garrison, confisting of nine thoufand men. The place was well fupplied; and the governor knew that king William would make strong efforts for its relief: So that the befieged were animated with many concurring confiderations. Notwithstanding these advantages, the affailants carried on their attacks with fuch vigour, that in feven days after the trenches were opened the town capitulated, and the garrison re-

tired into the citadel. King William, being joined by the troops of Brandenburgh and Leige, advanced to the Mehaigne, at the head of one hundred thousand effective men, and encamped within cannon-shot of Luxembourg's army, which lay on the other fide of the river. That general, however, had taken fuch precautions. that the king of England could not interrupt the fiege, nor attack the French lines without great disadvantage. The befiegers, encouraged by the presence of their monarch, and affifted by the superior abilities of Vauban, their engineer, repeated their attacks with fuch impetuofity, that the fort of Coehorn was furrendered, after a very obstinate defence, in which he himself had been dangerously wounded. The citadel being thus left exposed to the approaches of the enemy, could not long withstand the violence of their operations. The two covered ways were taken by affault: On the twentieth of May the governor capitulated, to the unspeakable mortification of king William, who saw himself obliged to lie inactive at the head of a powerful army, and be an eye-witness of the loss of the most important fortress in the Netherlands. Louis, having taken possession of the place, returned in triumph to Verfailles, where he was flattered with all the arts of adulation; while William's reputation suffered a little from his miscarriage, and the prince of Barbason incurred the suspicion of treachery or

§ XXXI. Luxembourg, having placed a strong garrison in Namur, detached Bousslers with a body of troops to La Bussier, and, with the rest of his army, encamped at Soignis. The king of England sent off detachments towards Leige and Ghent; and on the sixth day of July posted himself at Genap, resolved to seize the sirst opportunity of retrieving his honour, by attacking the enemy. Having received intelligence that the French general was in motion, and intended to take post between Steenkerke and Enghein, he passed the river Senne, in order to anticipate his purpose: But, in spite of all his diligence, Luxembourg gained his point; and William encamped at Lembecq, within six miles of the French

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army. Here he refolved, in a council of war, to attack the enemy; and every disposition was made for that purpose. The heavy baggage he ordered to be conveyed to the other fide of the Senne; and one Millevoix, a detected fpy, was compelled by menaces to millead Luxembourg with false intelligence, importing, that he need not be alarmed at the motions of the allies, who intended next day to make a general forage. On the twentyfourth day of July the army began to move from the left in two columns, as the ground would not admit of their marching in an extended front. The prince of Wirtemberg began the attack on the right of the enemy, at the head of ten battalions of English, Danish, and Dutch infantry: He was supported by a considerable body of British horse and foot, commanded by lieutenant-general Mackay. Though the ground was interfected by hedges, ditches, and narrow defiles, the prince marched with fuch diligence, that he was in a condition to begin the battle about two in the afternoon, when he charged the French with fuch impetuofity, that they were driven from their posts; and their whole camp became a scene of tumult and confusion. Luxembourg, trusting to the intelligence he had received, allowed himself to be furprised; and it required the full exertion of his supcrior talents to remedy the consequences of his neglect. He forthwith forgot a fevere indisposition under which he then laboured: He rallied his broken battalions; he drew up his forces in order of battle, and led them to the charge in person. The duke de Chartres, who was then in the fifteenth year of his age, the dukes of Bourbon and Vendome, the prince of Conti, and a great number of volunteers of the first quality, put themselves at the head of the household troops, and fell with great fury upon the English, who were very ill supported by count Solmes, the officer who commanded the centre of the allies. The prince of Wirtemberg had taken one of the enemy's batteries, and actually penetrated into their lines; but finding himself in danger of being overpowered by numbers, he fent an aid-de-camp twice, to demand fuccours from Solmes; who derided his diffres, 7116260101 faying.

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faying, "Let us fee what sport these English bull-dors " will make." At length, when the king fent an express order, commanding him to fustain the left wing, he made a motion with horse, which could not act while his infantry kept their ground; and the British troops, with a few Dutch and Danes, bore the whole brunt of the engagement. They fought with furprising courage and perseverance against dreadful odds; and the event of the battle continued doubtful, until Boufflers joined the French army with a great body of dragoons. The allies could not fustain the additional weight of this reinforcement. before which they gave way, though the retreat was made in tolerable order; and the enemy did not think proper to profecute the advantage they had gained. In this action the confederates loft the earl of Angus, general Mackay, fir John Lanier, fir Robert Douglas, and many other gallant officers, together with about three thousand men left dead on the spot, the same number wounded or taken, a great many colours and standards, and several pieces of

& XXXII. The French, however, reaped no folid advantage from this victory, which cost them about three thousand men, including the prince of Turenne, the marquis de Bellefond, Tilladet, and Fernacon, with many officers of distinction. As for Millevoix, the fpy, he was hanged on a tree, on the right wing of the allied army. King William retired unmolested to his own camp; and, notwithstanding all his overthrows, continued a respectable enemy, by dint of invincible fortitude, and a genius fruitful in resources. That he was formidable to the French nation, even in the midft of his ill fuccess, appears from divers undeniable testimonies, and from none more than from the extravagance of joy expressed by the people of France on occasion of this unimportant victory. When the princes who ferved in the battle returned to Paris, the roads through which they passed were almost blocked up with multitudes; and the whole air resounded with acclamation. All the ornaments of the fashion, peculiar to both sexes, adopted the name of Steenkerke: Every individual who had been personally

personally engaged in the action was revered as a being of a superior species; and the transports of the women

rose almost to a degree of frenzy.

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& XXXIII. The French ministry did not entirely depend upon the fortune of the war for the execution of their revenge against king William. They likewise employed affassins to deprive him of life, in the most treacherous manner. When Louvois died, his fon, the marquis de Barbesseux, who succeeded him in his office of secretary, found, among his papers, the draft of a scheme for this purpose; and immediately revived the design, by means of the chevalier de Grandval, a captain of dragoons in the service. He and colonel Parker engaged one Dumont, who undertook to affaffinate king William. Madame de Maintenon, and Paparel, paymaster to the French army, were privy to the scheme, which they encouraged. The conspirators are said to have obtained an audience of king James, who approved of their undertaking, and affured them of his protection: But that unfortunate monarch was unjustly charged with the guilt of countenancing the intended murther, as they communicated nothing to him but an attempt to feize the person of the prince of Orange. actually inlifted in the confederate army, that he might have the better opportunity to shoot the king of England when he should ride out to visit the lines, while Grandval and Parker repaired to the French camp, with orders to Luxembourg, to furnish them with a party of horse for the rescue of Dumont after the blow should Whether this man's heart failed him, or he could not find the opportunity he defired, after having refided fome weeks in the camp of the allies, he retired to Hanover; but still corresponded with Grandval and Barbefieux. This last admitted one Leefdale, a Dutch baron, into the fecret, and likewife imparted it to monsieur Chanlais, quartermaster-general of the French army, who animated Grandval and Leefdale with the promise of a considerable reward, and promised to cooperate with Parker for bringing off Dumont; for this allassin still persisted in his undertaking. Leefdale had N been

been sent from Holland on purpose to dive to the bottom of this conspiracy, in consequence of advice given by the British envoy at Hanover, where Dumont had dropped some hints that alarmed his suspicion. The Dutchman not only infinuated himself into the considence of the conspirators, but likewise inveigled Grandval to Eyndhoven, where he was apprehended. Understanding that Dumont had already discovered the defign to the duke of Zell, and that he himself had been betrayed by Leesdale, he freely consessed all the particulars, without enduring the torture; and, being found guilty by a court-martial, was executed as a traitor.

§ XXXIV. About this period the duke of Leinster arrived at Offend, with the troops which had been embarked at St. Helen's. He was furnished with cannon. fent down the Meuse from Maestricht; and reinforced by a large detachment from the king's camp at Gramont, under the command of general Ptolemache. He took poffession of Furnes, was joined by the earl of Portland, and M. d'Auverquerque, and a disposition was made for investing Dunkirk; but, on further deliberation, the enterprize was thought very dangerous, and therefore laid aside. Furnes and Dixmuyde, lately reduced by brigadier Ramfay, were strengthened with new works, and fecured by firong garrisons. The cannon were fent back, and the troops returned to Oftend, re-embarked for England. This fruitless expedition, added to the inglorious issue of the campaign, increased the ill-humour of the British nation. They taxed William with having lain inactive at Gramont with an army of one hundred thousand men, while Luxembourg was posted at Courtray with half that number. They faid, if he had found the French lines too strong to be forced, he might have paffed the Scheldt higher up, and not only laid the enemy's conquests under contribution, but even marched into the bowels of France; and they complained that Furnes and Dixmuyde were not worth the fums expended in maintaining their garrifons. On the twentyfixth day of September king William left the army,

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under the command of the elector of Bavaria, and repaired to his house at Loo: In two days after his departure, the camp at Gramont was broken up; the infantry marched to Marienkerke, and the horse to Caure. On the fixteenth day of October the king received intelligence that Boufflers had invested Charleroy, and Luxembourg taken post in the neighbourhood of Condé, ordered the troops to be instantly re-assembled between the village of Ixells and Halle, with defign to raise the fiege, and repaired to Bruffels, where he held a council of war, in which the proper measures were concerted. He then returned to Holland, leaving the command with the elector of Bavaria, who forthwith began his march for Charleroy. At his approach Boufflers abandoned the fiege, and moved towards Philipville. The elector having reinforced the place, and thrown supplies into Aeth, distributed his forces into winter quarters. Then Luxembourg, who had cantoned his army between Condé, Leuze, and Tournay, returned to Paris, leaving Boufflers to command in his absence.

§ XXXV. The allies had been unsuccessful in Flanders; and they were not fortunate in Germany. landgrave of Hesse Cassel undertook the siege of Eberemburgh, which, however, he was obliged to abandon. The duke de Lorges, who commanded the French forces on the Rhine, surprized, defeated, and took the duke of Wirtemberg, who had posted himself, with four thousand horse near Eidelsheim, to check the progress of the enemy. Count Tallard having invested Rhinefeld, the landgrave marched to its relief with fuch expedition, that the French were obliged to defift, and retreat with confiderable damage. The elector of Saxony had engaged to bring an army into the field: But he complained that the emperor left the burthen of the war with France upon the princes, and converted his chief power and attention to the campaign in Hungary. A jealoufy and misunderstanding ensued: Schoening, the Saxon general, in his way to the hot-baths at Dablitz in Bohemia, was feized by the emperor's order, on suspicion of having maintained a private correspondence with the enemy;

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and very warm expostulations on this subject passed between the courts of Vienna and Drefden. Schoening was detained two years in custody; and at length released, on condition that he should never be employed again in the empire. The war in Hungary produced no event of importance. The ministry of the Ottoman Porte was distracted by factions, and the seraglio threatened with tumults. The people were tired of maintaining an unfuccessful war: The visir was deposed; and, in the midst of this confusion, the garrison of Great Warradin, which had been blocked up by the Imperialists during the whole winter, furrendered on capitulation. Lord Paget, the English ambassador at Vienna, was fent to Constantinople, with powers to mediate a peace: But the terms offered by the emperor were rejected at the Porte: The Turkish army lay upon the defensive; and

the feafon was fpent in a fruitless negociation.

§ XXXVI. The prospect of affairs in Piedmont was favourable for the allies: But the court of France had brought the pope to an accommodation, and began to tamper with the duke of Savoy. M. Chanlais was fent to Turin, with advantageous propofals, which, however, the duke would not accept, because he thought himself entitled to better terms, considering that the allied army in Piedmont amounted to fifty thousand effective men, while Catenat's forces were not fufficient to defend his conquests in that country. In the month of July the duke marched into Dauphiné, where he plundered a number of villages, and reduced the fortress of Guilleftre; then paffing the river Darance, he invested Ambrun, which, after a fiege of nine days, furrendered on capitulation: He afterwards laid all the neighbouring towns under contribution. Here duke Schomberg, who commanded the auxiliaries in the English pay, published a declaration, in the name of king William, inviting the people to join his standard, assuring them that his mafter had no other defign in ordering his troops to invade France, but that of restoring the noblesse to their ancient splendour, their parliaments to their former authority, and the people to their just privileges. He even offered

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offered his protection to the clergy, and promifed to use his endeavours for reviving the edict of Nantz, which had been guaranteed by the kings of England. These offers, however, produced little effect; and the Germans ravaged the whole country, in revenge for the cruelties which the French had committed in the Palatinate. The allied army advanced, from Ambrun to Gap, on the frontiers of Provence; and this place fubmitted without opposition. The inhabitants of Grenoble, the capital of Dauphiné, and even of Lyons, were overwhelmed with consternation; and a fairer opportunity of humbling France could never occur, as that part of the kingdom had been almost left quite defenceles: But this was fatally neglected, either from the spirit of dissention which began to prevail in the allied army, or from the indisposition of the duke of Savoy, who was feized with the smallpox in the midst of this expedition; or, lastly, to his want of fincerity, which was shrewdly suspected. He is faid to have maintained a constant correspondence with the court of Verfailles, in complaifance to which he retarded the operations of the confederates. Certain it is he evacuated all his conquests, and about the middle of September quitted the French territories, after having pillaged and laid waste the country through which he had penetrated *. In Catalonia the French attempted nothing of importance during this campaign; and the Spaniards were wholly inactive in that province.

§ XXXVII. The protestant interest in Germany acquired an accession of strength by the creation of a ninth electorate in favour of Ernest Augustus, duke of Hanover. He had, by this time, renounced all his connexions with France, and engaged to enter heartily into the interest of the allies, in consideration of his obtaining the electoral dignity. King William exerted him-

^{*} At this period queen Mary, understanding that the protestant Vaudois were destitute of ministers to preach or teach the gospel, established a fund from her own privy purse, to maintain ten preachers, and as many schoolmasters in the vallies of Piedmont.

felf so vigorously in his behalf at the court of Vienna, that the emperor agreed to the proposal, in case the consent of the other electors could be procured. This affent, however, was extorted by the importunities of the king of England, whom he durft not disoblige. Leopold was blindly bigotted to the religion of Rome, and confequently averfe to a new creation, that would weaken the catholic interest in the electoral college. He, therefore, employed his emissaries to thwart the duke's measures. Some protestant princes opposed him from motives of jealoufy; and the French king used all his artifice and influence to prevent the elevation of the house of Hanover. When the duke had furmounted all this opposition, fo far as to gain over a majority of the electors, new objections were stated. The emperor suggested that another popish electorate should be created, to balance the advantage which the Lutherans would reap from that of Hanover; and he proposed that Auftria should be raised to the same dignity: But violent opposition was made to this expedient, which would have vested the emperor with a double vote in the electoral college. At length, after a tedious negociation, the duke of Hanover, on the nineteenth day of December, was honoured with the investiture, as elector of Brunswick, created great marshal of the empire, and did homage to the emperor: Nevertheless, he was not yet admitted into the college, because he had not been able to procure the unanimous confent of all the electors *.

^{*} In the beginning of September the shock of an earthquake was felt in London, and many other parts of England, as well as in France, Germany, and the Netherlands. Violent agitations of the same kind had happened about two months before in Sicily and Malta: And the town of Port Royal in Jamaica was almost totally ruined by an earthquake; The place was so suddenly overslowed, that about fifteen hundred persons perished.

CHAP. IV.

§ I. False information against the earl of Marlborough, the bishop of Rochester, and others. § 11. Sources of national discontent. § 111. Dissention between the queen and the princess Anne of Denmark. § IV. The house of lords vindicate their privileges in behalf of their imprisoned members. & V. The commons present addresses to the king and queen. § VI. They acquit admiral Russel, and resolve to advise his majefty. § VII. They comply with all the demands of the ministry. § VIII. The lords present an address of advice to the king. § IX. Dispute between the lords and commons concerning admiral Ruffel. § X. The commons address the king. They establish the land-tax and other impositions. § XI. Burnet's paf-toral letter burned by the hangman. § XII. Proceedings of the lower house against the practice of kidnapping men for the service. & XIII. The two houses address the king on the grievances of Ireland. § XIV. An account of the place-bill, and that for triennial parliaments. § XV. The commons petition his majesty that he would dissolve the East India company. § XVI. Trial of lord Mahun for murther. Alterations in the ministry. § XVII. The king repairs to the continent, and affembles the confederate army in Flanders. § XVIII. The French reduce Huy. § XIX. Luxembourg refolves to attack the allies. § XX. Who are defeated at Landen. § XXI. Charleroy is befieged and taken by the enemy. § XXII. Campaign on the Rhine. The duke of Savoy is defeated by Catinat in the plain of Marsaglia. § XXIII. Transactions in Hungary and Catalonia. § XXIV. Naval affairs. § XXV. A fleet of merchant Ships, under convoy of fir George Rooke, attacked, and partly destroyed by the French squadrons. § XXVI. Wheeler's expedition to the West Indies. § XXVII. Benbow bombards St. Maloes. § XXVIII. The French

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French king has recourse to the mediation of Denmark. & XXIX. Severity of the government against the Jacobites. § XXX. Complaifance of the Scottish parliament. & XXXI. The king returns to England, makes some changes in the ministry, and opens the seffion of parliament. & XXXII. Both houses enquire into the miscarriages by sea. § XXXIII. The commons grant a wast sum for the services of the ensuing year. § XXXIV. The king rejects the bill against free and impartial proceedings in parliament; and the lower house remonstrates on this subject. & XXXV. Establishment of the bank of England. & XXXVI. The East India company obtain a new charter. § XXXVII. Bill for a general naturalization dropped. § XXXVIII. Sir Francis Wheeler perishes in a storm. § XXXIX. The English attempt to make a descent in Camarat bay, but are repulsed with loss. § XL. They bombard Dieppe, Havre-de-Grace, Dunkirk, and Calais. § XLI. Admiral Russel sails for the Mediterranean, relieves Barcelona, and winters at Cadiz. § XLII. Campaign in Flanders. & XLIII. The allies reduce Huy. & XLIV. The prince of Baden passes the Rhine, but is oblized to repass that river. Operations in Hungary. § XLV. Progress of the French in Catalonia. State of the war in Piedmont. § XLVI. The king returns to England. The parliament meets. The bill for triennial parliaments receives the royal affent. & XLVII. Death of archbishop Tillotson and of queen Mary. § XLVIII. Reconciliation between the king and the princess of Denmark.

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by the affairs of the continent, England was distracted by domestic dissention, and overspread with vice, corruption, and profaneness. Over and above the Jacobites, there was a set of malcontents, whose number daily increased. They not only murmured at the grievances of the nation, but composed and published elaborate dissertations upon the same subject. These made such

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impressions upon the people, already irritated by heavy burthens, distressed in their trade, and disappointed in their fanguine expectations, that the queen thought it necessary to check the progress of those writers, by isfuing out a proclamation, offering a reward to fuch as would discover seditious libellers. The earl of Marlborough had been committed to the tower, on the information of one Robert Young, a prisoner in Newgate, who had forged that nobleman's hand-writing, and contrived the scheme of an affociation in favour of king lames; to which he affixed the names of the earls of Marlborough and Salifoury, Sprat, bishop of Rochester, the lord Cornbury, and fir Basil Firebrace. One of his emissaries had found means to conceal this paper in a certain part of the bishop's house at Bromley in Kent, where it was found by the king's messengers, who secured the prelate in consequence of Young's information. But he vindicated himself to the fatisfaction of the whole council; and the forgery of the informer was detected by the confession of his accomplice. The bishop obtained his release immediately; and the earl of Marlborough was admitted to bail in the court of king's bench.

§ II. So many persons of character and distinction had been imprisoned during this reign, upon the slightest fuspicion, that the discontented part of the nation had fome reason to infinuate, they had only exchanged one tyrant for another. They affirmed that the habeas corpus act was either insufficient to protect the subject from false imprisonment, or had been shamefully mitused. They expatiated upon the loss of ships, which had lately fallen a prey to the enemy; the confumption of seamen; the neglect of the fisheries; the interruption of commerce, in which the nation was supplanted by her allies, as well as invaded by her enemies; the low ebb of the kingdom's treasure, exhausted in hiring foreign bottoms, and paying foreign troops to fight foreign quarrels; and the flaughter of the best and bravest of their countrymen, whose blood had been lavishly spilt in support of connexions with which they ought to have had no con-

cern. They demonstrated the mischiefs which necesfarily arose from the very unsettled state of the nation. They observed that the government could not be duly established until a solemn declaration should confirm the legality of that tenure by which their majefties possessed the throne; that the structure of parliaments was deficient in point of folidity, as they existed entirely at the pleasure of the crown, which would use them no longer than they should be found necessary in raising supplies for the use of the government. They exclaimed against the practice of quartering foldiers in private houses, contrary to the ancient laws of the land. the petition of rights, and the subsequent act on that fubject passed in the reign of the second Charles. They enumerated, among their grievances, the violation of property, by pressing transport ships into the service, without fettling any fund of payment for the owners; the condition of the militia, which was equally burthenfome and useless; the flagrant partiality in favour of allies, who carried on an open commerce with France, and supplied the enemy with necessaries, while the English laboured under the severest prohibitions, and were in effect the dupes of those very powers whom they protected. They dwelt upon the ministry's want of conduct, forefight, and intelligence; and inveighed against their ignorance, infolence, and neglect, which were as pernicious to the nation as if they had formed a defignof reducing it to the lowest ebb of disgrace and destruction. By this time, indeed, public virtue was become the object of ridicule; and the whole kingdom was overfpread with immorality and corruption, towards the increase of which many concurring circumstances happened to contribute. The people were divided into three parties; namely, the Williamites, the Jacobites, and the discontented Revolutioners: These factions took all opportunities to thwart, to expose, and to ridicule the measures and principles of each other; so that patriotism was laughed out of doors, as an hypocritical pretence. This contention established a belief, that every man consulted his own private interest at the expence of the public; a belief that foon grew into a maxim

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maxim almost universally adopted. The practice in bribing a majority in parliament had a pernicious influence upon the morals of all ranks of people, from the candidate to the lowest borough-elector. The expedient of establishing funds of credit for raising supplies to defray the expences of government, threw large premiums and fums of money into the hands of low. fordid usurers, brokers, and jobbers, who distinguished themselves by the name of the Monied-interest. Intoxicated by this flow of wealth, they affected to rival the luxury and magnificence of their superiors; but, being destitute of sentiment and taste to conduct them in their new career, they ran into the most absurd and illiberal extravagances. They laid afide all decorum; became lewd, infolent, intemperate, and riotous .- Their example was caught by the vulgar. All principle, and even decency, was gradually banished; talent lay uncultivated; and the land was deluged with a tide of ignorance and profligacy.

§ III. King William having afcertained the winter quarters of the army, and concerted the operations of the ensuing campaign with the States-General and the ministers of the allies, set sail for England on the fifteenth day of October; on the eighteenth landed at Yarmouth, was met by the queen at Newhall, and passed through the city of London to Kenfington amidst the acclamations of the populace. He received a congratulatory address from the lord-mayor and aldermen, with whom he dined in public by invitation. A day of thankfgiving was appointed for the victory obtained at fea. The lutestring company was established by patent, and the parliament met on the fourth day of November. The house of lords was deeply infected with discontent, which in some measure proceeded from the dissention between the queen and her fister the princess of Denmark; which last underwent every mortification that the court could inflict. Her guards were taken away; all honours which had been paid to her rank by the magistrates of Bath, where she sometimes resided, and even by the ministers of the church where she attended at divine fervice, were discontinued by the express order

of his majesty. Her cause was naturally espoused by those noblemen who had adhered to her in her former contest with the king, about an independent settlement: and these were now reinforced by all the friends of the earl of Marlborough, united by a double tie; for they refented the difgrace and confinement of that lord, and thought it their duty to support the princess Anne under a perfecution incurred by an attachment to his countefs. The earl of Shrewsbury lived in friendship with Marl. borough, and thought he had been ungratefully treated by the king: The marquis of Hallifax befriended him. from opposition to the ministry: The earl of Mulgrave. for an opportunity to display his talents, and acquire that confideration which he thought due to his merit. Devonshire, Montague, and Bradford, joined in the fame cause from principle: The same pretence was used by the earls of Stamford, Monmouth, Warrington, and other Whigs; though, in effect, they were actuated by iealoufy and refentment against those by whom they had been supplanted. As for the Jacobites, they gladly contributed their affiftance to promote any scheme that had a tendency to embroil the administration.

& IV. The king, in his speech to parliament, thanked them for their last supplies; congratulated them upon the victory obtained at fea; condoled them on the bad fuccess of the campaign by land; magnified the power of France; reprefented the necessity of maintaining a great force to oppose it; and demanded subsidies equal to the occasion. He expressed his reluctance to load them with additional burthens; which, he faid, could not be avoided, without exposing his kingdom to inevitable destruction. He defired their advice towards leffening the inconvenience of exporting money for the payment of the forces. He intimated a defign of making a descent upon France; declared he had no aim but to make his subjects a happy people; and that he would again cheerfully expose his life for the welfare of the nation. The lords, after an adjournment of three days, began with great warmth to affert their privileges, which they conceived had been violated in the cases of the carl of

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Marlborough, and the other noblemen, who had been apprehended, committed to prison, and afterwards admitted to bail by the court of king's bench. These circumstances being fully discussed in a violent debate, the house ordered lord Lucas, constable of the Tower, to produce the warrants of commitment, and the clerk of the king's bench to deliver the ashdavit of Aaron Smith, the court-follicitor, upon which the lords had been remanded to prison. At the same time, the whole affair was referred to a committee empowered to fend for persons, papers, and records. The judges were ordered to attend: Aaron Smith was examined touching the evidence against the committed lords. The committee reported their general resolution, which produced a vehement dispute. The opinion of the judges was unfatisfactory to both parties: The debate was referred to a committee of the whole house, in which it was refolved and declared, as the fense of that affembly, That, in pursuance of the habeas corpus act, it was the duty of the judges of gaol-delivery to discharge the prisoner on bail, if committed for high-treason, unless it be made appear, upon oath, that there are two witnesses against the faid prisoner, who cannot be produced in that term, fession, or general gaol-delivery. They likewise refolved it was the intention of the faid statute, that in case there should be more than one prisoner to be bailed or remanded, there must be oath made that there are two witnesses against each prisoner, otherwise he cannot be remanded to prison. These resolutions were entered in the books as standing directions to all future judges, yet not without great opposition from the court-members. The next debate turned upon the manner in which the imprisoned lords should be fet at liberty. The contest became so warm that the courtiers began to be afraid, and proposed an expedient, which was put in practice. The house adjourned to the seventeenth day of the month; and at its next meeting was given to understand, that the king had discharged the imprisoned noblemen. After another warm debate, a formal entry was made in the Journals, importing, That the house being informed of VOL. I.

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rl of Marlhis majesty's having given directions for discharging the lords under bail in the king's bench, the debate about that matter ceased. The resentment of the peers being thus allayed, they proceeded to take his majesty's speech

into confideration.

& V. The commons having voted an address of thanks. and another, praying that his majefty's foreign alliances should be laid before them, determined on a bill for regulating trials in cases of high-treason. They passed a vote of thanks to admiral Russel, his officers, and seamen, for the victory they had obtained; and then proceeded to an enquiry, Why that victory had not been purfued? Why the descent had not been made? And. Why the trade had not been better protected from the enemy's cruizers? The admiral having justified his own conduct, they commanded the lords of the admiralty to produce copies of all the letters and orders which had been fent to the admiral: They ordered Ruffel to lay before them his answers; and the commissioners of the transports, victuallers, and office of ordnance, to deliver in an account of their proceedings. They then presented addresses to the king and queen, acknowledging the fayour of God in restoring him to his people; congratulating him upon his deliverance from the snares of his open and fecret enemies; and affuring him they would, according to his majesty's defire in his most gracious fpeech, be always ready to advise and affist him in the Support of his government. The queen was thanked for her gracious and prudent administration during his majesty's absence; they congratulated her on their signal deliverance from a bold and cruel design formed for their destruction, as well as on the glorious victory which her fleet had gained; and they affured her, that the grateful fense they had of their happiness under her government, should always be manifested in constant returns of duty and obedience.

§ VI. After this formal compliment the house, instead of proceeding to the supplies, insisted upon perusing the treaties, public accounts, and estimates, that they might be in a condition to advise, as well as to affist his ma-

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jefty. Being indulged with those papers, they passed a previous vote, that a supply should be given: Then they began to concert their articles of advice. Some of the members loudly complained of partiality to foreign generals; and particularly reflected upon the infolence of count Solmes, and his misconduct at Steenkerke. After some warm altercation, the house resolved one article of their advice should be, That his majesty would be pleased to fill up the vacancies that should happen among the general officers with fuch only as were natives of his dominions; and, that the commander in chief of the English should be an Englishman. Their next resolution implied, That many of the great affairs of the government having been for fome time past unsuccessfully managed, the house should advise his majesty to prevent fuch mischiefs for the future, by employing men of knowledge, ability, and integrity. Individual members inveighed bitterly against cabinet councils, as a novelty in the British system of government, by which the privycouncil was jostled out of its province. They complained that all the grievances of the nation proceeded from the vicious principles of the ministry: They observed, that he who opposed the establishment could not be expected to support it with zeal. The earl of Nottingham was mentioned by name; and the house resolved, that his majesty should be advised to employ in his councils such persons only whose principles obliged them to support his rights against the late king, and all other pretenders. Marlborough's interest still predominated among the commons. His friend Russel acquitted himself to the fatisfaction of the house, and shifted the blame of the milcarriage upon his enemy the earl of Nottingham, by declaring that twenty days elapsed between his first letter to that nobleman and his lordship's answer. The earl's friends, of whom there was a great number in the house, espoused his cause with great vigour, and even recriminated upon Ruffel; fo that a very violent debate enfued. Both parties agreed that there had been mismanagement in the scheme of a descent. It was moved, that one cause of the miscarriage was the want of giving timely 0 2

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and necessary orders by those to whom the management of the affair was committed. The house divided, and it was carried in the affirmative by one voice only. At the next fitting of the committee fir Richard Temple proposed they should consider how to pay the forces abroad, by means of English manufactures, without exporting English money. They resolved that the house should be moved to appoint a committee to take this expedient into confideration. Sir Francis Winnington was immediately called upon to leave the chair, and the fpeaker refumed his place. All that had been done was now void, as no report had been made; and the committee was diffolved. The house, however, revived it, and appointed a day for its fitting; but, before it could refume its deliberations, Admiral Ruffel moved for its being adjourned; and all its purposes were defeated.

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§ VII. The court agents had by this time interposed, and secured a majority by the infamous arts of corruption. The commons no longer infifted upon their points of advice. Their whole attention was now centered in the article of affistance. They granted about two millions for the maintenance of three-and-thirty thousand feamen, the building of fome additional ships of war, and the finishing of Plymouth-dock; and feven hundredand fifty thousand pounds to supply the deficiency of the quarterly poll. The estimates of the land-service were not discussed without tedious debates and warm disputes. The ministry demanded fifty-four thousand men, twenty thousand of whom should be kept at home for the defence of the nation, while the rest should serve abroad in the allied army. Many members declared their aversion to a foreign war, in which the nation had no immediate concern, and so little prospect of success. Others agreed that the allies should be affisted on the continent with a proportion of British forces; but that the nation should act as auxiliary, not as a principal, and pay no more than what the people would cheerfully contribute to the general expence. These reslections, however, produced no other effect than that of prolonging Ditt.

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the debate. Ministerial influence had furmounted all opposition. The house voted the number of men demanded. Such was their fervile complaifance, that when they examined the treaties by which the English and Dutch contracted equally with the German princes, and found that, notwithstanding these treaties, Britain bore two-thirds of the expence, they overlooked this flagrant instance of partiality, and enabled the king to pay the proportion. Nay, their maxims were fo much altered, that, instead of profecuting their resentment against foreign generals, they affented to a motion that the prince of Wirtemberg, the major-generals Tetteau and La Forest, who commanded the Danish troops in the pay of the States-General, should be indulged with fuch an addition to their appointments as would make up the difference between the pay of England and that of Holland. Finally, They voted above two millions for the subfistence of the land-forces, and for defraying extraordinary expences attending the war upon the continent, including subsidies to the electors of Saxony and

& VIII. The house of Lords, meanwhile, was not free from animofity and contention. The Marlborough faction exerted themselves with great vivacity. affirmed, it was the province of their house to advise the fovereign: Like the commons, they infifted upon the king's having asked their advice, because he had mentioned that word in his speech, though he never dreamed that they would catch at it with fuch eagerness. They moved, that the task of digesting the articles of advice should be undertaken by a joint committee of both houses: But all the dependents of the court, including the whole bench of bishops, except Watson of St. David's, were marshalled to oppose this motion, which was rejected by a majority of twelve; and this victory was followed with a protest of the vanquished. Notwithstanding this defeat, they prosecuted their scheme of giving advice; and, after much wrangling and declamation, the house agreed in an address or remonstrance, advising and befeeching his majesty, That the commanding officer of the British forces should be an Englishman:

lishman: That English officers might take rank of those in the confederate armies who did not belong to crowned heads: That the twenty thousand men to be left for the defence of that kingdom, should be all English, and commanded by an English general: That the practice of pressing men for the sleet should be remedied: That such officers as were guilty of this practice should be cashiered and punished: And, lastly, That no foreigners should sit at the board of ordnance. This address was presented to the king, who received it coldly, and said he would take it into consideration.

& IX. Then the lords resolved to enquire into the miscarriage of the purposed descent, and called for all the papers relating to that affair: But the aim of the majority was not fo much to rectify the errors of the government as to screen Nottingham, and censure Rusfel. That nobleman produced his own book of entries, together with the whole correspondence between him and the admiral, whom he verbally charged with having contributed to the miscarriage of the expedition. This affair was referred to a committee. Sir John Ashby was examined. The house directed the earl to draw up the fubstance of his charge; and these papers were afterwards delivered to a committee of the commons, at a conference by the lord prefident, and the rest of the committee above. They were offered for the inspection of the commons, as they concerned some members of that house, by whom they might be informed more fully of the particulars they contained. At another conference, which the commons demanded, their committee declared, in the name of the house, That they had read and well confidered the papers which their lordships had fent them, and which they now returned: That, finding Mr. Ruffel, one of their members, often mentioned in the same papers, they had unanimously resolved, That admiral Russel, in his command of the fleets during the last fummer's expedition, had behaved with fidelity, courage, and conduct. The tords, irritated at this declaration and disappointed in their refentment against Russel, desired a free conference between

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the committees of both houses. The earl of Rochester told the commons, that he was commanded by the house of lords to inform them, that their lordships looked upon the late vote and proceeding of the lower house, in returning their papers, to be irregular and unparliamentary; as they had not communicated to their lordships the lights they had received, and the reasons upon which their vote was founded. A paper to the same purport was delivered to colonel Granville; who promised to present it to the commons, and make a faithful report of what his lordship had said. Thus the conference ended, and

the enquiry was discontinued.

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§ X. The lower house seemed to be as much exasperated against the earl of Nottingham as the lords were incenfed at Ruffel. A motion was made, that his majesty should be advised to appoint such commissioners of the board of admiralty as were of known experience in maritime affairs. Although this was over-ruled, they voted an address to the king, praying, that, for the future, all orders for the engagement of the fleet might pass through the hands of the said commissioners; a protest by implication against the conduct of the secretary. The confideration of ways and means was the next object that engroffed the attention of the lower house, They resolved that a rate of four shillings in the pound, for one year, should be charged upon all lands, according to their yearly value; as also upon all personal estates, and upon all offices and employments of profit, other than military offices in the army or navy. The act founded on this resolution empowered the king to borrow money on the credit of it at feven per cent, They further enabled him to raise one million on the general credit of the exchequer, by granting annuities. They laid several new duties on a variety of imports. They renewed the last quarterly poll, providing, that in case it should not produce three hundred thousand pounds, the deficiencies might be made up by borrowing on the general credit of the exchequer. They continued the impositions on wine, vinegar, tobacco, and fugar for five years, and those on East India goods for four

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four years. They laid a new imposition of eight per cent. on the capital stock of the East India company, estimated at seven hundred-and-forty-four thousand pounds; of one per cent. on the African; of sive pounds on every share of the stock belonging to the Hudson's Bay company; and they empowered his majesty to borrow five hundred thousand pounds on these funds, which were expressly established for maintaining the war with

vigour *.

& XI. The money-bills were retarded in the upper house by the arts of Hallifax, Mulgrave, and other malcontents. They grafted a clause on the land-tax bill. importing, That the lords should tax themselves. It was adopted by the majority, and the bill fent with this amendment to the commons; by whom it was unanimously rejected, as a flagrant attempt upon their privileges. They demanded a conference, in which they declared that the clause in question was a notorious encroachment upon the rights the commons possessed of regulating all matters relating to supplies granted by parliament. When this report was debated in the houle of lords, the earl of Mulgrave displayed uncommon powers of eloquence and argument in persuading the house, that, by yielding to this claim of the commons, they would divest themselves of their true greatness, and nothing would remain but the name and shadow of a peer, which was but a pageant. Notwithstanding all his oratory, the lords relinquished their clause, declaring, at the fame time, that they had agreed to pass the bill without alteration, merely in regard to the prefent urgent state of affairs, as being otherwise of opinion, that they had a right to infift upon their clause. A formal complaint being made in the house of commons against the pamphlet entitled, "King William and Queen Mary "Conquerors," as containing affertions of dangerous

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The French king, hearing how liberally William was fupplied, exclaimed with some emotion, "My little count, the prince of Orange, is fixed in the saddle—but, no matter, the last Louis d'or must carry it."

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confequence to their majesties, to the liberty of the subject, and the peace of the kingdom, the licenser and printer were taken into custody. The book being examined. they resolved that it should be burned by the hands of the common hangman; and, that the king should be moved to dismiss the licenser from his employment. The fame sentence they pronounced upon a pastoral letter of bishop Burnet, in which this notion of conquest had been at first afferted. The lords, in order to manifest their fentiments on the same subject, resolved, That such an affertion was highly injurious to their majesties, inconfiftent with the principles on which the government was founded, and tending to the subversion of the rights of the people. Bohun, the licenfer, was brought to the bar of the house, and discharged upon his own petition, after having been reprimanded on his knees by the ipeaker.

§ XII. Several members having complained that their fervants had been kidnapped, and fent to ferve as folders in Flanders, the house appointed a committee to enquire into the abuses committed by press-masters; and a suitable remonstrance was presented to the king, who expressed his indignation at this practice, and assured the house that the delinquents should be brought to exemplary punishment. Understanding, however, in the fequel, that the methods taken by his majesty for preventing this abuse had not proved effectual, they resumed their enquiry, and proceeded with uncommon vigour on the information they received. A great number of perfons who had been preffed were discharged by order of the house; and captain Winter, the chief undertaker for this method of recruiting the army, was carried by the ferjeant before the lord chief-justice, that he might be

profecuted according to law.

§ XIII. Before the heats occasioned by this unpopular expedient were allayed, the discontent of the nation was further inflamed by complaints from Ireland, where lord Sidney was said to rule with despotic authority. These complaints were exhibited by fir Francis Brewster, fir William Gore, fir John Macgill, lieutenant Stafford,

Mr.

Mr. Stone, and Mr. Kerne. They were examined at the bar of the house, and delivered an account of their grievances in writing. Both houses concurred in this enquiry; which being finished, they severally presented addresses to the king. The lords observed, That there had been great abuses in disposing of the forfeited estates: That protections had been granted to the Irish not included in the articles of Limerick; fo that protestants were deprived of the benefit of the law against them; That the quarters of the army had not been paid according to the provision made by parliament: That a mayor had been imposed upon the city of Dublin for two years fucceffively, contrary to the ancient privileges and charter: That several persons accused of murder had been executed without proofs; and one Sweetman, the most guilty, discharged without prosecution. The commons spoke more freely in their address: They roundly explained the abuses and mismanagement of that government, by exposing the protestant subjects to the free quarter and violence of a licentious army; by recruiting the troops with Irish papists who had been in open rebellion against his majesty; by granting protections to 1rish Roman-catholics, whereby the course of the law was stopped: By reversing outlawries for high-treason not comprehended in the articles of Limerick; by letting the forfeited estates at an under-value, to the prejudice of his majefty's revenue; by embezzling the stores left in the towns and garrisons by the late king James, as well as the effects belonging to the forfeited estates, which might have been employed for the better prefervation of the kingdom; and, finally, by making additions to the articles of Limerick after the capitulation was figned, and the place furrendered. They most humbly befought his majesty to redress these abuses, which had greatly encouraged the papifts and weakened the protestant interest in Ireland. The king graciously received both addresses, and promised to pay a particular regard to all remonstrances that should come from either house of parliament: But no material step was taken against the lords Sidney, Athlone, and Coningsby, who ap-

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peared to have engrossed great part of the forseitures by grants from the crown: And even commissioner Culliford, who had been guilty of the most grievous acts of oppres-

fion, escaped with impunity.

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& XIV. The old Whig principle was not yet wholly expelled from the lower house. The undue influence of the court was exerted in fuch an open, scandalous manner, as gave offence to the majority of the commons. In the midst of all their condescension, fir Edward Hussey, member for Lincoln, brought in a bill touching free and impartial proceedings in parliament. It was intended to difable all members of parliament from enjoying places of trust and profit, and particularly levelled against the officers of the army and navy, who had infinuated themfelves into the house in such numbers, that this was commonly called The Officers Parliament. The bill passed the house of commons, and was sent up to the lords, by whom it was read a fecond time, and committed: But the ministry employing their whole strength against it, on the report, it was thrown out by a majority of two The earl of Mulgrave again distinguished himfelf by his elocution, in a speech that was held in great veneration by the people; and, among those who entered a protest in the journals of the house, when the majority rejected the bill, was prince George of Denmark, duke of Cumberland. The court had not recollected themfelves from the consternation produced by fuch a vigorous opposition, when the earl of Shrewsbury produced another bill for triennial parliaments, providing that there should be an annual session; that if, at the expiration of three years, the crown should not order the writs to be iffued, the lord chancellor, or keeper, or commissioner of the great feal, should iffue them ex officio, and by authority of this act, under severe penalties. The immediate object of this bill was the dissolution of the prefent parliament, which had already fat three fessions, and began to be formidable to the people, from its concessions to the ministry. The benefits which would accrue to the constitution from the establishment of triennial parliaments were very well understood, as these points had been frefrequently discussed in former reigns. The courtiers now objected, that frequent elections would render the free-holders proud and insolent, encourage faction among the electors, and entail a continual expence upon the member, as he would find himself obliged, during the whole time of his sitting, to behave like a candidate, conscious how soon the time of election would revolve. In spite of the ministerial interest in the upper house, the bill passed, and contained a proviso, that the present parliament should not continue any longer than the month of January next ensuing. The court renewed its efforts against it in the house of commons, where, nevertheless, it was carried, with some alterations, which the lords approved. But all these endeavours were frustrated by the prerogative of the king, who, by refusing his assent,

prevented its being enacted into a law.

& XV. It was at the instigation of the ministry that the commons brought in a bill for continuing and explaining certain temporary laws then expiring or expired. Among these was an act for restraining the liberty of the press, which owed its original to the reign of Charles II. and had been revived in the first year of the succeeding reign. The bill passed the lower house without difficulty, but met with warm opposition in the house of lords, a good number of whom protested against it, as a law that subjected all learning and true information to the arbitrary will of a mercenary, and, perhaps, ignorant licenser, destroyed the properties of authors, and extended the evil of monopolies. The bill for regulating trials was dropped, and, in lieu of it, another produced for the prefervation of their majesties facred persons and government: But this too was rejected by the majority, in consequence of the ministry's secret management. 1693. The East India company narrowly escaped dissolution. Petitions and counter-petitions were delivered into the house of commons: The pretentions on both sides were carefully examined: A committee of the whole house resolved, that there should be a new subscription of a joint stock, not exceeding two millions five hundred thousand pounds, to continue for one-and-twenty years. The

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The report was made and received, and the public expected to see the affair brought to a speedy issue: But the company had recourse to the same expedients which had lately proved to fuccessful in the hands of the ministry. Those who had been the most warm in detecting their abuses suddenly cooled; and the prosecution of the affair began to languish: Not but that the house prefented an address to his majesty, praying that he would diffolve the company upon three years warning, according to the condition of their charter. He told them he would confider their address; and they did not further urge their remonstrance. The bill for ascertaining the commissions and falaries of the judges, to which the king had refused the royal affent in the last session, was revived, twice read, and rejected; and another, for preventing the exportation and melting of the coin, they fuffered to lie neglected on the table. On the fourteenth day of March the king put an end to the fession, after having thanked the parliament for fo great testimonies of their affection; and promised the supplies should not be misapplied. He observed, that the posture of affairs called him abroad; but that he would leave a fufficient number of troops for the fecurity of the kingdom: He affured them he would expose his person upon all occafions for the advantage of these kingdoms; and use his utmost endeavours to make them a flourishing nation ...

§ XVI. During the course of this selsion lord Mohun was indicted and tried by his peers, in Westminster-hall, as an accomplice in the murther of one Montford, a celebrated comedian; the marquis of Caermarthen acting as lord-steward upon this occasion. The judges having been consulted, the peers proceeded to give their judgment feriatim; and Mohun was acquitted by a great majority. The king, who, from his first accession to the throne, had endeavoured to trim the balance between the Whigs and Tories, by mingling them together in his ministry, made some alterations at this period, that savoured of the same policy. The great seal, with the

^{*} See note [M] at the end of the volume. regulact

title of lord keeper, was bestowed upon fir John Somers, who was well skilled in the law, as in many other branches of polite and useful literature. He possessed a remarkable talent for bufiness, in which he exerted great patience and affiduity; was gentle, candid, and equitable: A Whig in principle, yet moderate, pacific, and conciliating. Of the same temper was fir John Trenchard, now appointed fecretary of state. He had been concerned with the duke of Monmouth, and escaped to the continent, where he lived fome years; was calin, fedate, well acquainted with foreign affairs, and confidered as a leading man in his party. These two are faid to have been promoted at the recommendation of the earl of Sunderland, who had, by this time, infinuated himself into the king's favour and confidence; though his fuccess confirmed the opinion which many entertained, of his having betrayed his old master. The leaders of the opposition were fir Edward Seymour, again become a malcontent, and fir Christopher Musgrave, a gentleman of Cumberland, who, though an extravagant Tory from principle, had refused to concur with all the defigns of the late king. He was a person of a grave and regular deportment, who had rejected many offers of the ministry, which he opposed with great violence; yet, on some critical occasions, his patriotism gave way to his avarice, and he yielded up fome important points, in confideration of large fums which he received from the court in fecret. Others declared war against the administration, because they thought their own talents were not fufficiently considered. Of these, the chief were Paul Foley and Robert Harley. The first was a lawyer of good capacity, extensive learning, and virtuous principles; but peevish, obstinate, and morose. He entertained a very despicable opinion of the court; and this he propagated with equal affiduity and fuccefs. Harley possessed a good fund of learning; was capable of uncommon application, particularly turned to politics. knew the forms of parliament had a peculiar dexterity at protracting and perplexing debates; and cherished the most aspiring ambition. Admiral Russel was created treafurer

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treasurer of the household; but the command of the fleet was vested in the hands of Killigrew, Delaval, and Shovel. Sir George Rooke was declared vice-admiral of the red, and John lord Berkeley of the blue division; their rear-admirals were Matthew Aylmer and David Mitchel.

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& XVII. The king having visited the fleet and the fortifications at Portsmouth, given instructions for annoving the enemy by fea, and left the administration in the hands of the queen, embarked on the last day of March, near Gravefend, and arrived in Holland on the third of April. The troops of the confederates were forthwith ordered to affemble: But while he was employed in making preparations for the campaign, the French king actually took the field, attended by madame de Maintenon, and all the court ladies. His defign was supposed to be upon some town in Brabant: His army amounted to one hundred-and-twenty thousand men, completely armed, and abundantly supplied with all necessaries for every fort of military operation. King William immediately took possession of the strong camp at Parke, near Louvaine: A fituation which enabled him to cover the places that were most exposed. Understanding that the French emissaries had sown the feeds of diffention between the bishop and chapter of Leige. he fent the duke of Wirtemberg thither, to reconcile the different parties, and concert measures for the further security of the place. He reinforced the garrison with nine battalions; and the elector palatine lay with his troops in readiness to march to its relief. William likewife threw reinforcements into Maestricht, Huy, and Charleroy; and he himself resolved to remain on the defensive, at the head of sixty thousand men, with a numerous train of artillery.

§ XVIII. Louis, having reviewed his army at Gemblours, and feen his defigns upon Brabant defeated by the diligence of his antagonist, detached Boufflers with twenty thousand men to the Upper Rhine, to join the Dauphin, who commanded in that quarter; then leaving the conduct of his forces in the Netherlands to the

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duke de Luxembourg, he returned with his court to Versailles. Immediately after his departure, Luxembourg fixed his head-quarters at Mildart; and king William strengthened his camp on that side with ten battalions, and eight-and-twenty pieces of cannon. The enemy's convoys were frequently furprifed by detachments from the garrison of Charleroy; and a large body of horse, foot, and dragoons, being drafted out of Leige and Maestricht, took post at Huy, under the command of the count de Tilly, fo as to straiten the French in their quarters. These, however, were dislodged by Luxembourg in person, who obliged the count to pass the Jaar with precipitation, leaving behind three squadrons and all his baggage, which fell into the hands of the enemy. This check, however, was balanced by the fuccess of the duke of Wirtemberg, who, at the head of thirteen battalions of infantry, and twenty fquadrons of horse, forced the French lines between the Scheldt and the Lys; and laid the whole country as far as Lise under contribution. On that very day, which was the eighteenth of July, Luxembourg marched towards Huy, which was next morning invested by M. de Villeroy. The other covered the fiege, and fecured himself from the allies by lines of contravallation. Before their batteries began to play, the town capitulated, On the twenty-third day of the month, the garrison mutinied; the caftles were furrendered; the governor remained a prisoner, and his men were conducted to Leige. The confederate army advanced in order to relieve the town: But the king being apprised of its fate, detached ten battalions to reinforce the garrison of Leige, and next day returned to Neer Hespen.

§ XIX. Luxembourg made a motion towards Leige, as if he had intended to beliege the place; and encamped at Hellecheim, about feven leagues from the confederates. Knowing how much they were weakened by the different detachments which had been made from their army, he refolved to attack them in their camp, or at least fall upon their rear, should they retreat at his approach. On the twenty-eighth day of July, he began

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his march in four columns, and passed the Jaar near its fource, with an army superior to the allies of five-andthirty thousand men. The king of England, at first, looked upon this motion as a feint to cover the defign upon Leige: But receiving intelligence that their whole army was in full march to attack him in his camp, he resolved to keep his ground; and immediately drew up his forces in order of battle. His general officers advised him to repass the Geete: Rut he chose to risque a battle rather than expose the rear of his army in repassing that river. His right wing extended as far as Neerwinden, along the Geete, covered with hedges, hollow ways, and a small rivulet: The left reached to Neerlanden; and these two villages were joined by a slight entrenchment, which the king ordered to be thrown up in the evening. Brigadier Ramfay, with the regiments of O'Farrel, Mackay, Lauder, Leven, and Monroe, were ordered to the right of the whole army, to line fome hedges and hollow ways on the farther fide of the village of Lare. Six battalions of Brandenburgh were posted to the left of this village: and general Dumont, with the Hanoverian infantry, possessed the village of Neer-winden, which covered part of the camp, between the main body and the right wing of the cavalry. Neer-landen, on the left, was fecured by fix battalions of English, Danes, and Dutch. The remaining infantry was drawn up in one line behind the entrenchment. The dragoons upon the left guarded the village of Dormal upon the brook of Beck; and from thence the left wing of horse extended to Neer-landen, where it was covered by this rivulet.

§ XX. The king having visited all the posts on horse-back, and given the necessary orders, reposed himself about two hours in his coach; and early in the morning sent for his chaplain, whom he joined in prayer with great devotion. At sun-rising the enemy appeared drawn up in order of battle; and the allies began to play their cannon with good success. About eight in the morning they attacked the villages of Lare and Neer-winden with great sury; and twice made themselves masters of these

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posts; from whence they were as often repulsed. The allies still kept their ground; and the duke of Berwick was taken by his uncle brigadier Churchill. Then the French made an attack upon the left wing of the confederates at Neer-landen; and after a very obstinate difpute, were obliged to give way, though they still kept possession of the avenues. The prince of Conti, however, renewed the charge with the flower of the French infantry; and the confederates being overpowered, retreated from the village, leaving the camp in that part exposed. Villeroy marching this way with a body of horse, was encountered and repulsed by the count d'Arco, general of the Bavarian cuiraffiers; and the duke de Chartres narrowly escaped being taken. Meanwhile, Luxembourg, the prince of Conti, the count de Marsin, and the marshal de Joyeuse, charged on the right, and in different parts of the line, with fuch impetuolity as furmounted all refistance. The camp of the confederates was immediately filled with French troops: The villages of Lare and Neer-winden were taken, after a long and desperate dispute. The Hanoverian and Dutch horse being broken, the king in person brought the English cavalry to their assistance. They fought with great gallantry; and for fome time retarded the fate of the day. The infantry were rallied, and stood firm until all their ammunition was expended. In a word, they were scarce able to sustain the weight of such a fuperiority in point of number, when the marquis d'Harcourt joined the enemy from Huy, with two andtwenty fresh squadrons, which immediately turned the scale in their favour. The elector of Bavaria, after having made extraordinary efforts, retreated with great difficulty over the bridge to the other fide of the river, where he rallied the troops, in order to favour the retreat of those who had not passed. The king seeing the battle loft, and the whole army in confusion, retired with the infantry to Dormal on the brook of Beck, where the dragoons of the left wing were posted, and then ordered the regiments of Wyndham, Lumley, and Galway, to cover this retreat over the bridge at Neers hefpen;

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hespen; which he effected with great difficulty. Now all was turnult, rout, and consternation; and a great number of the fugitives threw themselves into the river, where they were drowned. This had like to have been the fate of the brave earl of Athlone: the duke of Ormond was wounded in feveral places, and taken prisoner by the enemy; and the count de Solmes was mortally wounded. Ptolemache brought off the greater part of the English infantry with great gallantry and conduct : As for the baggage, it had been fent to Leige before the engagement; But the confederates lost fixty pieces of cannon, and nine mortars, a great number of standards and colours*, with about feven thousand men killed and wounded in the action. It must be owned that the allies fought with great valour and perseverance; and that king William made prodigious efforts of courage and activity to retrieve the fortune of the day. He was present in all parts of the battle: He charged in person both on horseback and on foot, where the danger was most imminent. His peruke, the sleeve of his coat, and the knot of his fcarf were penetrated by three different musket-balls; and he saw a great number of soldiers fall on every fide of him. The enemy bore witness to his extraordinary valour. The prince of Conti, in a letter to his princess, which was intercepted, declared, that he faw the prince of Orange exposing himself to the greatest dangers: And that such valour richly deserved the peaceable possession of the crown he wore. Yet here, as in every other battle he fought, his conduct and difpolition were feverely cenfured. Luxembourg, having observed the nature of his situation immediately before the engagement, is faid to have exclaimed, "Now, I " believe Waldeck is really dead;" alluding to that general's known fagacity in choosing ground for an encampment. Be that as it will, he paid dear for his

The duke of Luxembourg fent fuch a number of flandards and enfigns to Paris, during the course of this war, that the prince of Conticalled him the Upholsterer of Notre Dame: A church in which those trophies were displayed.

victory. His loss in officers and men exceeded that of the allies; and he reaped no folid advantage from the battle. He remained fifteen days inactive at Waren, while king William, recalling the duke of Wirtemberg and drafting troops from Leige and other garrisons, was, in a few days, able to hazard another engagement.

& XXI. Nothing remarkable happened during the remaining part of the campaign, until Luxembourg, being rejoined by Boufflers with a strong reinforcement from the Rhine, invested Charleroy. He had taken his measures with such caution and dexterity, that the allies could not frustrate his operations, without attacking his lines at a great disadvantage. The king detached the elector of Bavaria and the duke of Wirtemberg, with thirty battalions and forty squadrons, to make a diversion in Flanders; but they returned in a few days, without having attempted any thing of consequence. The garrison of Charleroy defended the place with furprifing valour from the tenth of September to the eleventh of October; during which period they had repulfed the affailants in feveral attacks: But, at length, despairing of relief, the governor capitulated on the most honourable conditions: The reduction of the place was celebrated with a te Deum, and other rejoicings, at Paris. Louis, however, in the midst of all his glory, was extremely mortified, when he reflected upon the little advantage he had reaped from all his late victories. The allies had been defeated fuccessively at Fleurus, Steenkerke, and Landen: Yet in a fortnight after each of these battles, William was always in a condition to rifque another engagement. Formerly, Louis had conquered half of Holland, Flanders, and Franche-comté, without a battle; whereas now he could not with his utmost efforts, and after the most fignal victories, pass the frontiers of the United Provinces. The conquest of Charleroy concluded the campaign in the Netherlands, and both armies went into winter quarters.

S XXII. The French army on the Rhine, under De Lorges, passed that river in the month of May at Philipsburgh, and invested the city of Heidelberg, which

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they took, plundered, and reduced to ashes. This general committed numberless barbarities in the Palatinate, which he ravaged without even sparing the tombs of the dead. The French foldiers, on this occasion, feem to have been actuated by the most brutal inhumanity. They butchered the inhabitants, violated the women, plundered the houles, rifled the churches, and murthered priefts at the altar. They broke open the electoral vault, and scattered the ashes of that illustrious family about the streets. They fet fire to different quarters of the city: They stripped about fifteen thousand of the inhabitants, without distinction of age or fex, and drove them naked into the caftle, that the garrison might be the fooner induced to capitulate. There they remained like cattle in the open air, without food or covering, tortured between the horrors of their fate and the terrors of a bombardment. When they were fet at liberty, in consequence of the fort's being surrendered, a great number of them died along the banks of the Neckar, from cold, hunger, anguish, and despair. These enormous cruelties, which would have difgraced the arms of a Tartarian freehooter, were acted by the express command of Louis XIV, of France, who has been celebrated by fo many venal pens, not only as the greatest monarch, but also as the most polished prince of Christendom. De Lorges advanced towards the Neckar against the prince of Baden, who lay encamped on the other fide of that river; but in attempting to pass, he was twice repulfed, with confiderable damage. The dauphin joining the army, which now amounted to feventy thousand, croffed without opposition; but found the Germans fo advantageously posted, that he would not hazard an attack : Having, therefore, repassed the river, he fecured Stutgard with a garrison, fent detachments into Flanders and Piedmont, and returned in August to Verfailles. In Piedmont, the allies were still more unfortunate. The duke of Savoy and his confederates seemed bent upon driving the French from Casal and Pignerol. The first of these places was blocked up, and the other actually invested. The fort of St. Bridget, that

that covered the place, was taken, and the town bom. barded. Meanwhile Catinat, being reinforced, descended into the plains. The duke was fo apprehensive of Turin, that he abandoned the fiege of Pignerol, after having blown up the fort, and marched in quest of the enemy to the plain of Marfaglia, in the neighbourhood of his capital. On the fourth day of October, the French advanced upon them from the hills, between Orbasson and Pro. sasque; and a desperate engagement ensued. The enemy charged the left wing of the confederates fword in hand with incredible fury: Though they were once repulsed, they renewed the attack with fuch impetuofity, that the Neapolitan and Milanese horse were obliged to give way, and disordered the German cavalry. These falling upon the foot, threw the whole wing into confusion. Meanwhile, the main body and the other wing fustained the charge without flinching, until they were exposed in flank by the defeat of the cavalry: Then the whole front gave way. In vain the fecond line was brought up to fustain them: The horse turned their backs, and the infantry was totally routed. In a word, the confederates were obliged to retire with precipitation, leaving their cannon, and about eight thousand men killed or wounded on the field of battle. The duke of Schomberg having been denied the post which was his due, in fled upon fighting at the head of the troops maintained by the king of Great Britain, who were posted in the centre, and behaved with great gallantry under the eye of their commander. When the left wing was defeated, the count de los Torres defired he would take upon him the command, and retreat with the infantry and right wing: But he refused to act without the order of his highness, and said, things were come to fuch a pass, that they must either conquer or die. He continued to animate his men with his voice and example, until he received a shot in the thigh. His valet feeing him fall, ran to his affiftance, and called for quarter, but was killed by the enemy before he could be understood. The duke being taken at the same instant, was afterwards dismissed upon his parole; and in Jane 3

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a few days died at Turin, universally lamented on-account of his great and amiable qualities. The earl of Warwick and Holland, who accompanied him as a volunteer, shared his fate in being wounded and taken prisoner; but he soon recovered his health and liberty. This victory was as unsubstantial as that of Landen, and almost as dear in the purchase; for the confederates made an obstinate defence, and yielded solely to superior number. The duke of Savoy retreated to Moncalier, and threw a reinforcement into Coni, which Catinat would not venture to beliege; fo feverely had he been handled in the battle. He therefore contented himfelt with laying the country under contribution, reinforced the garrisons of Casal, Pignerol, and Susa, and making preparations for repassing the mountains. The news of the victory no fooner reached Paris, than Louis dispatched M. de Chanlais to Turin, with proposals for detaching the duke of Savoy from the interest of the allies; and the pope, who was now become a partifan of France, supported the negociation with his whole influence: But the French king had not yet touched upon the right string. The duke continued deaf to all his addresses.

§ XXIII. France had been alike successful in her intrigues at the courts of Rome and Constantinople. The vilir at the porte had been converted into a pensionary and creature of Louis; but the war in which the Turks had been fo long and unfuccefsfully engaged, rendered him so odious to the people, that the grand seignior deposed him, in order to appease their clamours. The English and Dutch ambassadors at Constantinople forthwith renewed their mediation for a peace with the emperor; but the terms they proposed were still rejected with disdain. In the mean time general Heusler, who commanded the Imperialists in Transylvania, reduced the fortresses of Jeno and Villaguswar. In the beginning of. July the duke de Croy affumed the chief command of the German army, passed the Danube and the Saave, and invested Belgrade. The siege was carried on for some time with great vigour: But, at length,

abandoned at the approach of the vifir, who obliged the Imperialifts to repass the Saave, and fent out parties which made incursions into Upper Hungary. The power of France had never been fo conspicuous as at this juncture, when the maintained a formidable navy at fea, and four great armies in different parts of Europe. Exclusive of the operations in Flanders, Germany, and Piedmont, the count de Noailles invested Roses in Catadonia, about the latter end of May, while at the same time it was blocked up by the French fleet, under the command of the count d'Estrées. In a few days the place was furrendered by capitulation, and the castle of Ampurias met with the fame fate. The Spanish power was reduced to fuch a degree, that Noailles might have proceeded in his conquests without interruption, had not he been obliged to detach part of his army to reinforce Catinat in Piedmont.

6 XXIV. Nothing could be more inglorious for the English than their operations by sea in the course of this fummer. The king had ordered the admirals to use all possible dispatch in equipping the fleets, that they might block up the enemy in their own ports, and protect the commerce, which had suffered severely from the French privateers. They were, however, fo dilatory in their proceedings, that the squadrons of the enemy failed from their harbours before the English fleet could put to sea. About the middle of May it was affembled at St. Helen's, and took on board five regiments, intended for a descent on Brest; but this enterprise was never attempted. When the English and Dutch squadrons joined, so as to form a very numerous fleet, the public expected they would undertake fome expedition of importance: But the admirals were divided in opinion, nor did their orders warrant their executing any scheme of consequence. Killigrew and Delaval did not escape the suspicion of being disaffected to the service; and France was faid to have maintained a fecret correfpondence with the malcontents in England. Louis had made furprifing efforts to repair the damage which his navy had fustained. He had purchased several large effels

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vessels; and converted them into ships of war: He had laid an embargo on all the shipping of his kingdom, until his squadrons were manned: He had made a grand naval promotion, to encourage the officers and seamen; and this expedient produced a wonderful spirit of activity and emulation. In the month of May his sleet sailed to the Mediterranean, in three squadrons, consisting of seventy-one capital ships, besides bomb-ketches, fireships,

and tenders.

& XXV. In the beginning of June, the English and Dutch fleets failed down the channel. On the fixth, fir George Rooke was detached to the Straits with a fquadron of three-and-twenty ships, as convoy to the Mediterranean trade. The great fleet returned to Torbay, while he purfued his voyage, having under his protection about four hundred merchant ships belonging to England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Hamburgh, and Flanders. On the fixteenth, his fcouts discovered part of the French fleet under Cape St. Vincent: Next day their whole navy appeared, to the amount of eighty fail. Sixteen of these plied up to the English squadron, while the vice-admiral of the white stood off to sea, to intercept the ships under convoy. Sir George Rooke, by the advice of the Dutch vice-admiral Vandergoes, refolved, if possible, to avoid an engagement, which could only tend to their absolute ruin. He forthwith sent orders to the small ships that were near the land, to put into the neighbouring ports of Faro, St. Lucar, and Cadiz, while he himself stood off with an easy sail for the protection of the rest. About fix in the evening, ten fail of the enemy came up with two Dutch ships of war, commanded by the captains Schrijver and Vanderpoel, who feeing no possibility of escaping, tacked in shore; and, thus drawing the French after them, helped to fave the rest of the fleet. When attacked they made a most desperate defence; but at last were overpowered by numbers, and taken. An English ship of war and a rich pinnace were burned; nine-and-twenty merchant vessels were taken, and about fifty destroyed by the counts de Tourville and d'Estrées. Seven of the largest Smyrna ships fell into

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the hands of M. de Coetlogon, and four he funk in the bay of Gibraltar, The value of the loss sustained on this occasion amounted to one million sterling. Mean, while Rooke stood off with a fresh gale, and on the nineteenth fent home the Lark ship of war with the news of his misfortane; then he bore away for the Madeiras, where having taken in wood and water, he fet fail for Ireland, and on the third day of August arrived at Cork, with fifty fail, including thips of war and trading vessels. He detached captain Fairbone to Kinfale, with all his fquadron, except fix ships of the line, with which, in pursuance of orders, he joined the great fleet then cruifing in the chops of the Channel. On the twentyfifth day of August they returned to St. Helen's, and the four regiments were landed. On the nineteenth day of September, fifteen Dutch ships of the line, and two frigates, fet fail for Holland; and twenty-fix fail, with feven fireships, were assigned as guardships during the winter.

§ XXVI. The French admirals, instead of pursuing Rooke to Madeira, made an unfuccessful attempt upon Cadiz, and bombarded Gibraltar, where the merchants funk their ships, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Then they failed along the coast of Spain, destroyed some English and Durch vessels at Malaga, Alicant, and other places; and returned in triumph to Toulon. About this period fir Francis Wheeler returned to England with his squadron, from an unfortunate expedition in the West Indies. In conjunction with colonel Codrington, governor of the Leeward Islands, he made unsuccessful attempts upon the islands of Martinique and Dominique. Then he failed to Boston in New England, with a view to concert an expedition against Quebec, which was judged impracticable. He afterwards steered for Placentia in Newfoundland, which he would have attacked without hefitation; but the defign was rejected by a majority of voices in the council of war. Thus disappointed, he set sail for England; and arrived at Portsmouth in a very shattered condition,

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& XXVII. In November another effort was made to annoy the enemy. Commodore Benbow failed with a fquadron of twelve capital ships, four bomb-ketches, and ten brigantines, to the coast of St. Maloes, and anchoring within half a mile of the town, cannonaded and bombarded it for three days fucceffively. Then his men landed on an island, where they burned a convent. On the nineteenth they took the advantage of a dark night, a fresh gale, and a strong tide, to send in a fireship of a particular contrivance, stiled the Infernal, in order to burn the town; but she struck upon a rock before she arrived at the place, and the engineer was obliged to fet her on fire and retreat. She continued burning for some time, and at last blew up with such an explosion as shook the whole town like an earthquake, unroofed three hundred houses, and broke all the glass and earthen-ware for three leagues around. A capstan, that weighed two hundred pounds, was transported into the place, and falling upon a house, levelled it to the ground; the greatest part of the wall towards the sea tumbled down; and the inhabitants were overwhelmed with consternation; fo that a small number of troops might have taken possession without resistance; but there was not a soldier on board. Nevertheless the failors took and demolished Quince-fort, and did confiderable damage to the town of St. Maloes, which had been a nest of privateers that infested the English commerce. Though this attempt was executed with great spirit, and some success, the clamours of the people became louder and louder. They scrupled not to fay, that the councils of the nation were betrayed; and their suspicions rose even to the secretary's office. They observed that the French were previously acquainted with all the motions of the English; and took their measures accordingly for their destruction. They collected and compared a good number of particulars that seemed to justify their suspicions of treachery. But the misfortunes of the nation, in all probability, arose from a motley ministry, divided among themselves, who,

instead of acting in concert for the public good, em. ployed all their influence to thwart the views and blacken the reputations of each other. The people in general exclaimed against the marquis of Caermarthen. the earls of Nottingham and Rochester, who had acquired great credit with the queen, and, from their hatred to the Whigs, betrayed the interests of the nat-

& XXVIII. But if the English were discontented, the French were miserable, in spite of all their victories. That kingdom laboured under a dreadful famine, occaifioned partly from unfavourable feafons and partly from the war, which had not left hands sufficient to cultivate the ground. Notwithstanding all the diligence and providence of the ministry in bringing supplies of corn from Sweden and Denmark, their care in regulating the price, and furnishing the markets, their liberal contributions for the relief of the indigent, multitudes perished of want, and the whole kingdom was reduced to poverty and distress. Louis pined in the midst of his success, He faw his subjects exhausted by a ruinous war, in which they had been involved by his ambition. He tampered with the allies apart, in hopes of dividing and detaching them from the grand confederacy: He folicited the northern crowns to engage as mediators for a general peace. A memorial was actually presented by the Danish minister to king William, by which it appears, that the French king would have been contented to purchase a peace with fome confiderable concessions: But the terms were rejected by the king of England, whose ambition and revenge were not yet gratified; and whole fubjects, though heavily laden, could ftill bear additional burthens.

& XXIX. The Jacobites had been very attentive to the progress of distatisfaction in England, which they fomented with their usual affiduity. The late declaration of king James had been couched in fuch imperious terms as gave offence even to some of those who favoured his interest. The earl of Middleton, therefore, in the beginning of the year, repaired to St. Germain's, and

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obtained another, which contained the promise of a general pardon, without exception, and every other concession that a British subject could demand of his sovereign. About the latter end of May two men, named Canning and Dormer, were apprehended for dispersing copies of this paper, tried at the Old-Bailey, found guilty of not only dispersing but also of composing a false and seditious libel, sentenced to pay five hundred marks a-piece, to stand three times in the pillory, and find fureties for their good behaviour. But no circumstance reflected more disgrace on this reign than the fate of Anderton, the supposed printer of some tracts against government. He was brought to trial for high-treason: He made a vigorous defence in spite of the insults and discouragement he sustained from a partial bench. As nothing but presumptions appeared against him, the jury scrupled to bring in a verdict that would affect his life, until they were reviled and reprimanded by judge Treby; then they found him guilty. In vain recourte was had to the queen's mercy: He suffered death at Tyburn; and left a paper, protesting solemnly against the proceedings of the court, which he affirmed was appointed not to try, but to convict him; and petitioning Heaven to forgive his penitent jury. The feverity of the government was likewise exemplified in the case of fome adventurers, who, having equipped privateers to cruise upon the English, under joint commissions from the late king James and Louis XIV. happened to be taken by the English ships of war. Dr. Oldys, the king's advocate, being commanded to proceed against them as guilty of treason and piracy, refused to commence the profecution; and gave his opinion in writing, that they were neither traitors nor pirates. He supported this opinion by arguments before the council: These were answered by Dr. Littleton, who succeeded him in the office, from which he was dismissed; and the prisoners were executed as traitors. The Jacobites did not fail to retort those arts upon the government which their adversaries had so successfully practised in the late reign. They inveighed against the vindictive spirit of Q 3

the administration, and taxed it with encouraging informers and falle witnesses: A charge for which there was too much foundation.

§ XXX. The friends of James in Scotland fill continued to concert defigns in his favour; but their correspondence was detected and their aims defeated by the vigilance of the ministry in that kingdom. Secretary Johnston not only kept a watchful eye over all their transactions, but by a dexterous management of court-libe. rality and favour appealed the discontents of the presbyte. rians fo effectually, that the king ran no rifque in affembling the parliament. Some offices were beftowed upon the leaders of the kirk-party; and the duke of Hamilton, being reconciled to the government, was appointed commissioner. On the 18th day of April the session was opened, and the king's letter, replete with the most cajoling expressions, being read, the parliament proceeded to exhibit undeniable specimens of their good-humour. They drew up a very affectionate answer to his majesty's letter: They voted an addition of fix new regiments to the standing forces of the kingdom: They granted a supply of above one hundred-and-fifty thousand pounds sterling to his majesty: They enacted a law for levying men to ferve on board the royal navy: They fined all abfentees, whether lords or commons; and vacated the seats of all those commissioners who refused to take the oath of affurance, which was equivalent to an abjuration of king James: They fet on foot an enquiry about an intended invasion: They published some intercepted letters, supposed to be written to king James by Nevil Payne, whom they committed to prison, and threatened with a trial for high-treason; but he eluded the danger by threatening, in his turn, to impeach those who had made their peace with the government: They passed an act for the comprehension of such of the episcopal clergy as should condescend to take the oaths by the tenth day of July. All that the general affembly required of them was, an offer to subscribe to the confession of faith, and to acknowledge presbytery as the only government of the Scottish church: But they neither submitted to these terms,

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terms, nor took the oaths within the limited time; so that they forfeited all legal right to their benefices. Nevertheless they continued in possession, and even received private assurances of the king's protection. It was one of William's political maxims to court his domestic enemies; but it was never attended with any good effect. This indulgence gave offence to the presbyterians; and former distractions began to revive.

§ XXXI. The king having prevailed upon the States-General to augment their land-forces and navy for the fervice of the ensuing campaign, embarked for England, and arrived at Kenfington on the thirtieth day of October. Finding the people clamorous and discontented, the trade of the nation decayed, the affairs of state mifmanaged, and the ministers recriminating upon one another, he perceived the necessity of changing hands, and resolved to take his measures accordingly. Sunderland. his chief counsellor, represented, that the Tories were averse to the continuance of a war, which had been productive of nothing but damage and difgrace; whereas the Whigs were much more tractable, and would bleed freely, partly from the terrors of invafion and popery, partly from the ambition of being courted by the crown, and partly from the prospect of advantage in advancing money to the government on the funds established by parliament; for that fort of traffic which obtained the appellation of the Monied-interest, was altogether a Whigish institution. The king revolved these observations in his own mind; and, in the mean time, the parliament met on the seventh day of November, pursuant to the last prorogation. In his speech he expressed his refentment against those who were the authors of the miscarriages at sea, represented the necessity of increasing the land-forces and the navy, and demanded a fuitable supply for these purposes. In order to pave the way to their condescension, he had already dismissed from his council the earl of Nottingham, who, of all his ministers, was the most odious to the people. His place would have been immediately filled with the earl of Shrewsbury; but that nobleman suspecting this was a change of men rather than of measures, stood aloof for some time,

until he received fuch assurances from the king as quieted his scruples, and then he accepted the office of secretary. The sieutenancy for the city of London, and all other commissions over England, were altered with a view to favour the Whig interest; and the individuals of that party were indulged with many places of trust and profit: But the Tories were too powerful in the house of commons to be exasperated, and therefore a good number of

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them were retained in office.

& XXXII. On the fixth day of the fession the com. mons unanimously resolved to support their majesties and their government; to enquire into miscarriages; and to confider of means for preferving the trade of the nation. The Turkey company were fummoned to produce the petitions they had delivered to the commissioners of the admiralty for convoy: Lord Falkland, who fat at the head of that board, gave in copies of all the orders and directions fent to fir George Rooke concerning the Straits feet, together with a lift of all the ships at that time in commission. It appeared, in the course of this enquiry, that the miscarriage of Rooke's fleet was in a great measure owing to the misconduct of the admirals, and the neglect of the victualling-office; but they were skreened by a majority. Mr. Harley, one of the commissioners for taking and flating the public accounts, delivered a report, which contained a charge of peculation against lord Falkland, Rainsford, receiver of the rights and perquifites of the navy, confessed that he had received and paid more money than that which was charged in the accounts; and, in particular, that he had paid four thousand pounds to lord Falkland, by his majesty's order. lord had acknowledged before the commissioners that he had paid one-half of the fum, by the king's order, to a person who was not a member of either house; and that the remainder was still in his hands. Rainsford owned he had the original letter which he received from Falkland, demanding the money; and this nobleman, defiring to fee it, detained the voucher: A circumstance that incenfed the commons to fuch a degree, that a motion was made for committing him to the Tower, and rithm of ustalwest from along the

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debated with great warmth; but at last over-ruled by the majority. Nevertheless they agreed to make him fensible of their displeasure; and he was reprimanded in his place. The house of lords having also enquired into the causes of the miscarriage at sea, very violent debates arose, and at length the majority resolved, that the admirals had done well in the execution of the orders they had received. This was a triumph over the Whig lords, who had so eagerly prosecuted the affair, and now protested against the resolution, not without great appearance of reason. The next step of the lords was to exculpate the earl of Nottingham, as the blame seemed to lie with him, on the supposition that the admirals were innocent. With a view, therefore, to transfer this blame to Trenchard, the Whigish secretary, the earl gave the house to understand, that he had received intelligence from Paris in the beginning of June, containing a lift of the enemy's fleet, and the time of their failing; that this was communicated to a committee of the council, and particularly, imparted to fecretary Trenchard, whose province it was to transmit instructions to the admirals. Two conferences passed on this subject between the lords and commons. Trenchard delivered in his defence in writing; and was, in his turn, Areened by the whole efforts of the ministry, in which the Whig influence now predominated. Thus an enquiry of fuch national confequence, which took its rife from the king's own expreffion of refentment against the delinquents, was stifled by the arts of the court, because it was likely to affect one of his creatures; for, though there was no premeditated treachery in the case, the interest of the public was certainly facrificed to the mutual animofity of the ministers. The charge of lord Falkland being refumed in the house of commons, he appeared to have begged and received of the king the remaining two thousand pounds of money which had been paid by Rainsford: He was therefore declared guilty of a high misdemeanor and breach of trust, and committed to the tower; from whence, however, he was in two days discharged upon his petition. & XXXIII.

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& XXXIII. Harley, Foley, and Harcourt prefented to the house a state of the receipts and issues of the revenue, together with two reports from the commissioners of accounts, concerning fums iffued for fecret fervices. and to members of parliament. This was a difcovery of the most scandalous practices in the mystery of corruption, equally exercised on the individuals of both parties, in occasional bounties, grants, places, pensions, equivalents, and additional falaries. The malcontents. therefore, justly observed, the house of commons was so managed that the king could baffle any bill, quash all grievances, stifle accounts, and rectify the articles of Limerick. When the commons took into confideration the estimates and supplies of the ensuing year, the king demanded forty thousand men for the navy, and above one hundred thousand for the purposes of the land-service. Before the house considered these enormous demands, they granted four hundred thousand pounds by way of advance, to quiet the clamours of the feamen, who were become mutinous and desperate for want of pay, upwards of one million being due to them for wages, Then the commons voted the number of men required for the navy; but they were so ashamed of that for the army, that they thought it necessary to act in such a manner as should imply that they still retained some regard for their country. They called for all the treaties Subfifting between the king and his allies: They examined the different proportions of the troops furnished by the respective powers: They considered the intended augmentations, and fixed the establishment of the year at fourscore-and-three thousand one hundred-and-twenty-one men, including officers. For the maintenance of these they allotted the sum of two millions five hundredand-thirty thousand five hundred-and-nine pounds. They granted two millions for the navy, and about five hundred thousand pounds to make good the deficiencies of the annuities and poll-bills; fo that the supplies for the year amounted to about five millions and a half, raifed by a land-tax of four shillings in the pound, by two

more lives in the annuities, a further excise on beer, a

new duty on falt, and a lottery.

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& XXXIV. Though the malcontents in parliament could not withstand this torrent of profusion, they endeavoured to distress the court-interest by reviving the popular bills of the preceding fethion; fuch as that for regulating trials in cases of high-treason; the other for the more frequent calling and meeting of parliaments, and that concerning free and impartial proceedings in parliament. The first was neglected in the house of lords; the second was rejected; and the third was passed by the commons, on the supposition that it would be defeated in the other house. The lords returned it with certain amendments, to which the commons would not agree: A conference enfued; the peers receded from their corrections, and passed the bill; to which the king, however, refused his affent. Nothing could be more unpopular and dangerous than fuch a step at this juncture. The commons, in order to recover some credit with the people, determined to disapprove of his majesty's conduct. The house formed itself into a committee, to take the state of the kingdom into consideration. They resolved, That who ever advised the king to refuse the royal affent to that bill, was an enemy to their majesties and the kingdom. They likewife presented an address, expressing their concern that he had not given his confent to the bill, and befeeching his majesty to hearken for the future to the advice of his parliament rather than to the counfels of particular persons, who might have private interests of their own, separate from those of his majesty and his people. The king thanked them for their zeal, professed a warm regard for their constitution, and assured them he would look upon all parties as enemies who should endeavour to lessen the confidence subfisting between the sovereign and people. The members in the opposition were not at all satisfied with this general reply. A day being appointed to take it into confideration, a warm debate was maintained with equal eloquence and acrimony. At length the question being put, that an address should be made for a

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more explicit answer, it passed in the negative by a great

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majority.

& XXXV. The city of London petitioned that a parliamentary provision might be made for the orphans. whose fortunes they had scandalously squandered away. Such an application had been made in the preceding fellion, and rejected with difdain, as an imposition on the public: But now those scruples were removed, and the house passed a bill for this purpose, consisting of many clauses, extending to different charges on the city lands. aqueducts, and personal effates; imposing duties on binding apprentices, constituting freemen, as also upon wines and coals imported into London. On the twenty-third day of March thefe bills received the royal affent; and the king took that opportunity of recommending difpatch, as the feafon of the year was far advanced, and the enemy diligently employed in making preparations for an early campaign. The scheme of a national bank, like those of Amsterdam and Genoa, had been recommended to the ministry as an excellent institution, as well for the credit and fecurity of the government as the increase of trade and circulation. One project was invented by Dr. Hugh Chamberlain, proposing the circulation of tickets on land-fecurity: But William Paterfon was author of that which was carried into execution by the interest of Michael Godfrey, and other active projectors. The scheme was founded on the notion of a transferable fund, and a circulation by bill on the credit of a large capital. Forty merchants subscribed to the amount of five hundred thousand pounds, as a fund of ready money, to circulate one million at eight per cent. to be lent to the government; and even this fund of ready money bore the same interest. When it was properly digested in the cabinet, and a majority in parliament fecured for its reception, the undertakers for the court introduced it into the house of commons, and expatiated upon the national advantages that would accrue from such a measure. They said it would rescue the nation out of the hands of extortioners and usurers, lower interest, raise the value of land, revive and establish public credit, extend circulation, confequently improve commerce,

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commerce, facilitate the annual fupplies, and connect the people the more closely with the government. The project was violently opposed by a strong party, who affirmed that it would become a monopoly, and engross the whole money of the kingdom: That, as it must infallibly be subservient to government views, it might be employed to the worst purposes of arbitrary power: That, instead of affisting, it would weaken commerce, by tempting people to withdraw their money from trade, and employ it in stock-jobbing: That it would produce a fwarm of brokers and jobbers to prey upon their fellow-creatures, encourage fraud and gaming, and further corrupt the morals of the nation. Notwithstanding these objections the bill made its way through the two houses, establishing the funds for the security and advantage of the fubscribers; empowering their majesties to incorporate them by the name of The Governor and Company of the Bank of England, under a proviso, that at any time after the first day of August, in the year one thousand feven hundred-and-five, upon a year's notice and the repayment of the twelve hundred thousand pounds, the faid corporation should cease and determine. The bill likewife contained clauses of appropriation for the services of the public. The whole fubscription was filled in ten days after its being opened; and the court of directors completed the payment before the expiration of the time prescribed by the act, although they did not call in more than feven hundred-and-twenty thousand pounds of the money subscribed. All these funds proving inadequate to the estimates, the commons brought in a bill to impose stamp duties upon all vellum, parchment, and paper, used in almost every kind of intercourse between man and man; and they crowned the oppression of the year with another grievous tax upon carriages, under the name of a bill for licenfing and regulating hackney and itage coaches.

§ XXXVI. The commons, in a clause of the bill for taxing several joint-stocks, provided, that in case of a default in the payment of that tax, within the time limited by the act, the charter of the company so failing should Vol. I.

be deemed void and forfeited. The East India company actually neglected their payment, and the public imagin. ed the ministry would seize this opportunity of dissolving a monopoly against which so many complaints had been made: But the directors understood their own strength; and, instead of being broken, obtained the promise of a new charter. This was no fooner known than the controverfy between them and their adversaries was revived with fuch animofity that the council thought proper to indulge both parties with a hearing. As this produced no refolution, the merchants who opposed the company, petitioned, that in the meanwhile the new charter might be fuspended. Addresses of the same kind were presented by a great number of clothiers, linen-drapers, and other dealers. To these a written answer was published by the company: The merchants printed a reply, in which they undertook to prove, that the company had been guilty of unjust and unwarrantable actions, tending to the scandal of religion, the dishonour of the nation, the reproach of our laws, the oppression of the people, and the ruin of trade. They observed, that two private ships had exported in one year three times as many cloths as the company had exported in three years. They offered to fend more cloth and English merchandife to the Indies in one year than the company had exported in five; to furnish the government with five hundred tons of falt-petre for less than one half of the usual price; and they represented, that the company could neither load the ships they petitioned for in England, nor reload them in the East Indies. In spite of all thefe remonstrances the new charter passed the great leals, though the grants contained in it were limited in fuch a manner that they did not amount to an exclusive privilege, and subjected the company to such alterations, restrictions, and qualifications, as the king should direct before the twenty-ninth day of September. This indulgence and other favours granted to the company, were privately purchased of the ministry, and became productive of a loud outcry against the government. merchants published a journal of the whole transaction,

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and petitioned the house of commons that their liberty of trading to the East Indies might be confirmed by parliament. Another petition was presented by the company, praying that their charter might receive a parliamentary fanction. Both parties employed all their address in making private application to the members. The house having examined the different charters, the book of their new subscriptions, and every particular relating to the company, resolved that all the subjects of England had an equal right to trade to the East Indies,

unless prohibited by act of parliament.

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& XXXVII. But nothing engroffed the attention of the public more than a bill which was brought into the house for a general naturalization of all foreign protestants. The advocates for this measure alledged. That great parts of the lands of England lay uncultivated: That the strength of a nation consisted in the number of inhabitants: That the people were thinned by the war and foreign voyages, and required an extraordinary supply: That a great number of protestants, persecuted in France and other countries, would gladly remove to a land of freedom, and bring along with them their wealth and manufactures: That the community had been largely repaid for the protection granted to those refugees who had already fettled in the kingdom. They had introduced feveral new branches of manufacture, promoted industry, and lowered the price of labour: A circumstance of the utmost importance to trade, oppressed as it was with taxes, and exposed to uncommon hazard from the enemy. The opponents of the bill urged, with the greatest vehemence, That it would cheapen the birthright of Englishmen: That the want of culture was owing to the oppression of the times: That foreigners, being admitted into the privileges of the British trade, would grow wealthy at the expence of their benefactors, and transfer the fortunes they had gained into their native country: That the reduction in the price of labour would be a national grievance, while many thousands of English manufacturers were starving for want of employment; and the price of provisions

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continued fo high, that even those who were employed could scarce supply their families with bread: That the real defign of the bill was to make fuch an accession to the diffenters as would render them an equal matchin the body politic for those of the church of England; to create a greater dependence on the crown, and; in a word, to supply a foreign head with foreign members, Sir John Knight, a member of the house, in a speech upon this subject, exaggerated the bad consequences that would attend fuch a bill, with all the wit and virulence of fatire: It was printed and dispersed through the kingdom, and raifed fuch a flame among the people as had not appeared fince the revolution. They exclaimed, that all offices would be conferred upon Dutchmen, who would become lord-danes, and prescribe the modes of religion and government; and they extolled fir John Knight as the faviour of the nation. The courtiers, incenfed at the progress of this clamour, complained in the house of the speech which had been printed; and fir John was threatened with expulsion and imprisonment. He, therefore, thought proper to disown the paper; which was burned by the hands of the common hangman. This facrifice ferved only to increase the popular disturbance, which rose to such a height of violence, that the court-party began to tremble; and the bill was dropped for the prefent.

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§ XXXVIII. Lord Coningsby and Mr. Porter had committed the most flagrant acts of oppression in Ireland. These had been explained, during the last session, by the gentlemen who appealed against the administration of lord Sidney: but they were screened by the ministry; and, therefore, the earl of Bellamont now impeached them in the house of commons, of which he and they were members. After an examination of the articles exhibited against them, the commons, who were by this time at the devotion of the court, declared, that, considering the state of affairs in Ireland, they did not think them fit grounds for an impeachment.—In the course of this session, the nation sustained another missfortune in the sate of fir Francis Wheeler, who had been ap-

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pointed commander in chief of the Mediterranean fquadron. He received instructions to take under his conyoy the merchant ships bound to Turkey, Spain, and Italy; to cruize thirty days in a certain latitude, for the protection of the Spanish plate-fleet, homeward-bound; to leave part of his fquadron at Cadiz, as convoy to the trade for England; to proceed with the rest to the Mediterranean; to join the Spanish fleet in his return, and to act in concert with them, until he should be joined by the fleet from Turkey and the Straits, and accompany them back to England. About the latter end of October he fet fail from St. Helen's, and in January arrived at Cadiz with the ships under his convoy: There leaving rear-admiral Hopson, he proceeded for the Mediterranean. In the bay of Gibraltar he was overtaken by a dreadful tempest, under a leeshore, which he could not possibly weather, and where the ground was so foul that no anchor would hold. This expedient, however, was tried. A great number of ships were driven ashore, and many perished. The admiral's ship foundered at fea, and he and all his crew were buried in the deep, except two Moors, who were miraculously preserved. Two other ships of the line, three ketches, and fix merchant fhips were loft. The remains of the fleet were so much thattered, that, instead of prosecuting their voyage, they returned to Cadiz, in order to be refitted, and sheltered from the attempts of the French squadrons, which were ftill at fea, under the command of Chateau-renaud and Gabaret. On the twenty-fifth day of April the king closed the fession with a speech in the usual stile; and the parliament was prorogued to the eighteenth day of September .

§ XXXIX. Louis of France being tired of the war, which had impoverished his country, continued to tamper with the duke of Savoy, and by the canal of the pope, made some offers to the king of Spain, which were rejected. Meanwhile he resolved to stand upon the defensive during the ensuing campaign, in every part

^{*} See note [N] at the end of the volume, R 3

but Catalonia, where his whole naval force might cooperate with the count de Noailles, who commanded the land army. King William having received intelligence of the defign upon Barcelona, endeavoured to prevent the junction of the Brest and Toulon squadrons, by fending Ruffel to fea as early as the fleet could be in a condition to fail: But before he arrived at Portfmouth. the Brest squadron had quitted that harbour. On the third day of May the admiral failed from St. Helen's, with the combined fquadrons of England and Holland, amounting to ninety ships of the line, besides frigates, fireships, and tenders. He detached captain Pritchard of the Monmouth, with two fireships, to destroy a fleet of French merchant thips near Conquet bay; and this fervice being performed, he returned to St. Helen's, where he had left fir Cloudesley Shovel with a squadron, to take on board a body of land forces, intended for a defcent upon the coast of France. These being embarked under the command of general Ptolemache, the whole fleet failed again on the twenty-ninth of May. The land and sea officers, in a council of war, agreed that part of the fleet defigned for this expedition, should separate from the rest, and proceed to Camaret bay, where the forces should be landed. On the fifth day of June, Lord Berkeley, who commanded this squadron, parted with the grand fleet, and on the feventh anchored between the bays of Camaret and Bertaume. Next day the marquis of Caermarthen, afterwards duke of Leeds, who served under Berkeley as rear-admiral of the blue, entered Camaret bay with two large ships and fix frigates, to cover the troops in landing. The French had received intelligence of the defign, and taken fuch precautions, under the conduct of the celebrated engineer Vauban, that the English were exposed to a terrible fire from new erected batteries, as well as from a strong body of troops; and though the ships cannonaded them with great vigour, the foldiers could not maintain any regularity in landing. A good number were killed in the open boats before they reached the shore; and those who landed were soon repulsed, in fpite

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spite of all the endeavours of general Ptolemache, who received a wound in the thigh, which proved mortals. Seven hundred soldiers are said to have been lost on this occasion, besides those who were killed on board of the ships. The Monk ship of war was towed off with great difficulty; but a Dutch frigate of thirty guns sell

into the hands of the enemy.

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1694. § XL. After this unfortunate attempt, Lord Berkeley, with the advice of a council of war, failed back for England, and at St. Helen's received orders from the queen to call a council, and deliberate in what manner the ships and forces might be best employed. They agreed to make some attempt upon the coast of Normandy. With this view they fet fail on the fifth day of July. They bombarded Dieppe, and reduced the greatest part of the town to ashes. Thence they fleered to Havre-de-grace, which met with the fame fate. They harraffed the French troops, who marched after them along-shore. They alarmed the whole coast, and filled every town with fuch consternation, that they would have been abandoned by the inhabitants, had they not been detained by military force. On the twentyfixth day of July lord Berkeley returned to St. Helen's, where he quitted the fleet, and the command devolved upon fir Cloudesley Shovel. This officer having received instructions to make an attempt upon Dunkirk, failed round to the Downs, where he was joined by M. Meesters, with fix-and-twenty Dutch pilots. On the twelfth of September he appeared before Dunkirk; and pext day fent in the Charles galley, with two bombketches, and as many of the machines ealled Infernals. These were set on fire without effect, and the design micarried: Then Shovel steered to Calais, which having been bombarded with little fuccess, he returned to the coast of England; and the bomb-ketches and machines were fent into the river Thames.

§ XLI. During these transactions, admiral Russel, with the grand sleet, sailed for the Mediterranean; and being joined by rear-admiral Neville from Cadiz, together with Callembergh and Evertzen, he steered towards

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Barcelona, which was befieged by the French fleet and army. At his approach, Tourville retired with precipitation into the harbour of Toulon; and Noailles abandoned his enterprife. The Spanish affairs were in such a deplorable condition, that without this timely affistance the kingdom must have been undone. While he continued in the Mediterranean, the French admiral durst not venture to appear at sea; and all his projects were disconcerted. After having afferted the honour of the British slag in those seas during the whole summer, he sailed in the beginning of November to Cadiz, where, by an express order of the king, he passed the winter; during which, he took such precautions for preventing Tourville from passing the Straits, that he did not think

proper to risque the passage.

& XLII. It will now be necessary to describe the operations on the continent. In the middle of May king William arrived in Holland, where he consulted with the states general. On the third day of June he repaired to Bethlem abbey near Louvain, the place appointed for the rendezvous of the army; and there he was met by the electors Bavaria and Cologn. In a few days a numerous army was affembled, and every thing feemed to promife an active campaign. On the third day of June the dauphin affumed the command of the French forces, with which Luxembourg had taken post between Mons and Mauheuge; and passing the Sambre, encamped at Fleurus: But, on the eighteenth, he removed from thence, and took up his quarters between St. Tron and Wanheim, while the confederates lay at Roofbeck. On the eleventh of July, the dauphin marched in four columns to Oerle upon the Jaar, where he pitched his camp. On the twenty-fecond, the confederates marched to Bomale: Then the dauphin took the route to Vignamont, where he secured his army by entrenchments, as his forces were inferior in number to those of the allies; and he had been directed by his father to avoid an engagement. In this fituation both armies remained till the fifteenth day of August, when king William fent the heavy baggage to Louvain; and on

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the eighteenth made a motion to Sombref. This was no fooner known to the enemy, than they decamped; and having marched all night, posted themselves between Temploux and Masy, within a league and a half of the confederates. The king of England resolved to pass the Scheldt; and with this view marched, by the way of Nivelle and Soignis, to Chievres: From thence he detached the duke of Wirtemberg, with a strong body of horse and foot to pass the river at Oudenarde, while the elector of Bavaria advanced with another detachment to pass it at Pont de Espieres. Notwithfanding all the expedition they could make, their purpose was anticipated by Luxembourg, who being apprifed of their route, had detached four thousand horse. with each a foot foldier behind the trooper, to reinforce. M, de Valette, who commanded that part of the French line. These were sustained by a choice body of men, who travelled with great expedition, without observing the formalities of a march Mareschal de Villeroy followed the fame route, with all the cavalry of the right wing, the household troops, and twenty field pieces s And the rest of the army was brought up by the dauphin in person. They marched with such incredible diligence, that the elector of Bavaria could scarce believe his own eyes, when he arrived in fight of the Scheldt, and faw them entrenching themselves on the other fide of the river. King William having reconnoitred their disposition, thought it impracticable to pass at that place, and therefore marched down the river to Oudenarde, where a paffage had been already effected by the duke of Wirtemberg. Here the confederates palled the Scheldt on the twenty feventh day of the month; and the king fixed his head-quarters at Wanneghem. His intenti n was to have taken possession of Courtray, and established winter-quarters for a confiderable part of his army in that district: But Lixembourg having posted himself between that place and Menin, extended his lines in fuch a manner, that the confederates could not attempt to force them, nor even hinder him from fubfifting his army at the expence of

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the Castellany of Courtray, during the remainder of the campaign. This surprising march was of such importance to the French king, that he wrote with his own hand a letter of thanks to his army; and ordered that it should be read to every particular squadron and battalion.

& XLIII. The king of England, though disappointed in his scheme upon Courtray, found means to make fome advantage of his superiority in number. He drafted troops from the garrifons of Leige and Maestricht; and on the third day of September reinforced his body with a large detachment from his own camp, conferring the command upon the duke of Holstein-ploen, with orders to undertake the fiege of Huy. Next day the whole confederate forces passed the Lys, and encamped at Wouterghem. From thence the king, with part of the army, marched to Roselaer: This division obliged the dauphin to make confiderable detachments, for the fecurity of Ypres and Menin on one fide, and to cover Furnes and Dunkirk on the other. At this juncture, a Frenchman being feized in the very act of fetting fire to one of the ammunition waggons in the allied army, confessed he had been employed for this purpose by fome of the French generals; and fuffered death as a traitor. On the fixteenth day of the month, the duke of Holstein-ploen invested Huy, and carried on the siege with fuch vigour, that in ten days the garrison capitulated. The king ordered Dixmuyde, Deynse, Niove, and Tirlemont, to be secured for winter-quarters to part of the army: The dauphin returned to Verfailles; William quitted the camp on the last day of September; and both armies broke up about the middle of October.

§ XLIV. The operations on the Rhine were preconcerted between king William and the prince of Baden, who had vifited London in the winter. The difpute between the emperor and the elector of Saxony was compromifed; and this young prince dying during the negociation, the treaty was perfected by his brother and fucceffor, who engaged to furnish twelve thousand men yearly, in consideration of a subsidy from the court of

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Vienna. In the beginning of June, mareschal de Lorges passed the Rhine at Philipsburgh, in order to give battle to the Imperialists, encamped at Hailbron. The prince of Baden, who was not yet joined by the Saxons, Heifians, nor by the troops of Munster and Paderborn, difpatched couriers to quicken the march of these auxiliaries, and advanced to Eppingen, where he proposed to wait till they should come up: But, on the fifteenth, receiving undoubted intelligence that the enemy were in motion towards him, he advanced to meet them in order of battle. De Lorges concluded that this was a desperate effort, and immediately halted to make the necessary preparations for an engagement. This paufe enabled prince Louis to take possession of a strong pass near Sintzheim, from which he could not easily be dislodged. Then the mareschal proceeded to Viseloch, and ravaged the adjacent country, in hopes of drawing the Imperialists from their entrenchments. The prince being joined by the Hessians, resolved to beat up the quarters of the enemy; and the French general being apprifed of his delign, retreated at midnight with the utmost precipitation. Having posted himself at Ruth, he sent his heavy baggage to Philipsburgh; then he moved to Gonsbergh, in the neighbourhood of Manheim, repassed the Rhine, and encamped between Spires and Worms. The prince of Baden being joined by the allies, passed the river by a bridge of boats near Hagenbach, in the middle of September; and laid the country of Alface under contribution. Confidering the advanced feafon of the year, this was a rash undertaking; and the French general resolved to profit by his enemy's temerity. He forthwith advanced against the Imperialists, foreseeing that should they be worsted in battle, their whole army would be ruined. Prince Louis, informed of his intention, immediately passed the Rhine; and this retreat was no sooner effected, than the river swelled to such a degree, that the island in the middle, and great part of the camp he had occupied, was overflowed. Soon after this incident both armies retired into winter-quarters. campaign in Hungary produced no event of importance.

It was opened by the new vifir, who arrived at Belgrade in the middle of August; and about the same time Caprara affembled the Imperial army in the neighbourhood of Peterwaradin. The Turks paffed the Saave in order to attack their camp, and carried on their approaches with five hundred pieces of cannon; but made very little progress. The Imperialists received reinforcements; the feafon wasted away; a feud arose between the visir and the cham of the Tartars; and the Danube being swelled by heavy rains fo as to interrupt the operations of the Turks, their general decamped in the night of the first of October. They afterwards made an unfuccessful attempt upon Titul, while the Imperial general made himfelf master of Giula. In the course of this summer the Venetians, who were also at war with the Turks, reduced Cyclut, a place of importance on the river Naranta, and made a conquest of the island of Soio, in the Archipelago.

& XLV. We have already observed that the French king determined to act vigorously in Catalonia. In the beginning of May the duke de Noailles advanced at the head of eight-and-twenty thousand men to the river Ter, on the opposite bank of which the viceroy of Catalonia was encamped with fixteen thousand Spaniards. The French-general paffed the river in the face of this army, and attacked their entrenchments with fuch impetuolity, that in less than an hour they were totally defeated. Then he marched to Palamos, and undertook the fiege of that place; while, at the fame time, it was blocked up by the combined squadrons of Brest and Toulon. Though the besieged made an obstinate defence, the town was taken by ftorm, the houses were pillaged, and the people put to the fword without distinction of age, fex, or condition. Then he invested Gironne, which in a few days capitulated. Oftalric met with the fame fate; and Noailles was created viceroy of Catalonia by the French king. In the beginning of August he distributed his forces into quarters of refreshment along the river Terdore, refolving to undertake the fiege of Barcelona; which was faved by the arrival of admiral Ruffel.

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Russel. The war languished in Piedmont, on account of a secret negociation between the king of France and the duke of Savoy, norwithstanding the remonstrances of Rouvigny, earl of Galway, who had succeeded the duke of Schomberg in the command of the British forces in that country. Cafal was closely blocked up by the reduction of Fort St. George, and the Vaudois gained the advantage in some skirmishes in the valley of Ragelas; but no design of importance was executed.

§ XLVI. England had continued very quiet under the queen's administration, if we except some little commotions occasioned by the practices or pretended practices of the Jacobites. Profecutions were revived against certain gentlemen of Lancashire and Cheshire for having been concerned in the conspiracy formed in favour of the late king's projected invasion from Normandy. These steps were owing to the suggestions of infamous informers, whom the ministry countenanced. Colonel Parker and one Crosby were imprisoned, and bills of treason found against them: But Parker made his escape from the Tower, and was never retaken, though a reward of four hundred pounds was fet on his head. The king having fettled the affairs of the confederacy at the Hague, embarked for England on the eighth of November, and the next day landed at Margate. On the twelfth he opened the fession of parliament with a speech, in which he observed that the posture of affairs was improved both by fea and land fince they last parted; in particular, that a stop was put to the progress of the French arms. He defired they would continue the act of tonnage and poundage, which would expire at Christmas: He reminded them of the debt for the transport ships employed in the reduction of Ireland; and exhorted them to prepare some good bill for the encouragement of seamen. A majority in both

^{*} In the course of this year M. du Casse, governor of St. Domingo, made an unsuccessful attempt upon the island of Jamaica: And M. St. Clair, with four men of war, formed a design against St. John's, Newsoundland; but he was repulsed with loss by the valour of the inhabitants.

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houses was already secured; and, in all probability, he bargained for their condescension by agreeing to the bill for triennial parliaments. This Mr. Harley brought in, by order of the lower house, immediately after their first adjournment; and it kept pace with the confideration of the supplies. The commons having examined the effimates and accounts, voted four millions feven hundred fixty-four thousand seven hundred-and-twelve pounds for the service of the army and navy. In order to raise this fum they continued the land-tax, they renewed the fubfidy of tonnage and poundage for five years, and imposed new duties on different commodities *. The triennial bill enacted, That a parliament should be held once within three years at least: That within three years at farthest after the dissolution of the parliament then fublifting, and fo from time to time, for ever after, legal writs under the great feal should be iffued, by the direction of the crown, for calling, affembling, and holding another new parliament: I hat no parliament should continue longer than three years at farthest, to be accounted from the first day of the first setsion: And, That the parliament then sublifting should cease and determine on the first day of November next following, unless their majesties should think fit to dissolve it sooner. The duke of Devonshire, the marquis of Hallifax, the earls of Weymouth and Aylesbury, protested against this bill, because it tended to the continuance of the present parliament longer than, as they apprehended, was agreeable to the constitution of England.

§ XLVII. While this bill was depending Dr. John Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury, was seized with a fit of the dead palty in the chapel of Whitehall, and died on the 22d day of November, deeply regretted by

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^{*} They imposed certain rates and duties upon marriages, biths, and burials, bachelors, and widows. They passed an act for laying additional duties upon coffee, tea, and chocolate, towards paying the debt due for the transport ships; and another, imposing duties on glass ware, stone and earthen bottles, coal, and culm.

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the king and queen, who shed tears of forrow at his decease; and fincerely lamented by the public as a pattern of elegance, ingenuity, meekness, charity, and moderation. These qualities he must be allowed to have possessed notwithstanding the invectives of his enemies. who accused him of puritanism, flattery, and ambition: and charged him with having conduced to a dangerous schism in the church, by accepting the archbishopric during the life of the deprived Sancroft. He was fucceeded in the metropolitan fee by Dr. Tennison, bishop of Lincoln, and recommended by the Whig-party, which now predominated in the cabinet. The queen did not long survive her favourite prelate. In about a month after his decease she was taken ill of the small-pox, and the symptoms proving dangerous, she prepared herself for death with great composure. She spent some time in the exercises of devotion and private conversation with the new archbishop; she received the facrament with all the bishops who were in attendance; and expired on the twenty-eighth day of December, in the thirty-third year of her age, and in the fixth of her reign, to the incxpressible grief of the king, who for some weeks after her death could neither fee company nor attend to the bufiness of state. Mary was in her person tall and wellproportioned, with an oval vifage, lively eyes, agreeable features, a mild aspect, and an air of dignity. Her apprehenfion was clear, her memory tenacious, and her judgment folid. She was a zealous protestant, of an even temper, and of calm and mild conversation. She was ruffled by no passion, and seems to have been a stranger to the emotions of natural affection; for the afcended, without compunction, the throne from which her father had been deposed, and treated her fifter as an alien to her blood. In a word, Mary feems to have imbibed the cold disposition and apathy of her husband; and to have centred all her ambition in deferving the epithet of an humble and obedient wife .

See note [P] at the end of the volume.

& XLVIII. The princess Anne being informed of the queen's dangerous indisposition, sent a lady of her bedchamber to defire the might be admitted to her majefly: but this request was not granted. She was thanked for her expression of concern: and given to understand that the physicians had directed that the queen should be kept as quiet as possible. Before her death, however, the fent a forgiving message to her fifter; and, after her decease, the earl of Sunderland effected a reconciliation between the king and the princess, who visited him at Kenfington, where she was received with uncommon civility. He appointed the palace of St. James for her refidence, and prefented her with the greater part of the queen's jewels. But a mutual jealoufy and difgust subfifted under these exteriors of friendship and esteem. The two houses of parliament waited on the king at Kenfington with confolatory addresses on the death of his confort: Their example was followed by the regency of Scotland, the city and clergy of London, the differting ministers, and almost all the great corporations in England . the kines, who for firms weeks after her

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[§] I. Account of the Lancashire plot. § II. The commons enquire into the abuses which had crept into the army. § III. They expel and prosecute some of their own members for corruption, in the affair of the East India company. § IV. Examination of Cook, Acton, and others. § V. The commons impeach the duke of Leeds. § VI. The parliament is prorogued. § VII. Session of the Scottish parliament. § VIII. They enquire into the massacre of Glencue. § IX. They pass an act for creat-

^{*} The earls of Nottingham and Rochester are said to have started a doubt, whether the parliament was not dissolved by the queen's death; but this dangerous motion met with no countenance.

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ing a trading company to Africa and the Indies. 5 X. Proceedings in the parliament of Ireland. & XI. Difposition of the armies in Flanders. § XII. King Wilham undertakes the fiege of Namur. & XIII. Famous retreat of prince Vaudemont. Bruffels is bombarded by Villeroy. § XIV. Progress of the siege of Namur. & XV. Villeroy attempts to relieve it. The befievers make a desperate assault. § XVI. The place capitulates: Boufflers is arrested by order of king William. & XVII. Campaign on the Rhine and in Hungary. & XVIII. The duke of Savoy takes Cafal. & XIX. Transactions in Catalonia. § XX. The English fleet bombards St. Maloes and other places on the coast of France. & XXI. Wilmot's expedition to the West Indies. § XXII. A new parliament. § XXIII. They pass the bill for regulating trials in cases of high-treason. & XXIV. Refolutions with respect to a new coinage. & XXV. The commons address the king to recal a grant he had made to the earl of Portland. § XXVI. Another against the new Scottish company. § XXVII. Invigues of the Jacobites. § XXVIII. Conspiracy against the life of William. & XXIX. Design of an invasion defeated. & XXX. The two houses engage in an affociation for the defence of his majesty. § XXXI. Establishment of a land bank. § XXXII. Trial of the conspirators. XXXIII. The allies burn the magazine at Givet. & XXXIV. Louis the Fourteenth makes advances towards a peace with Holland. § XXXV. He detaches the duke of Savoy from the confederacy. § XXXVI. Naval transactions. § XXXVII. Proceedings in the parliaments of Scotland and Ireland. § XXXVIII. Zeal of the English commons in their affection to the king. § XXXIX. Refolutions touching the coin and support of public credit. § XL. Enormous impositions. & XLI. Sir John Fenwick is apprehended. XLII. A bill of attainder being brought into the house against him, produces violent debates. § XLIII. His defence. § XLIV. The bill paffes. § XLV. Sir John Femwick is beheaded. § XLVI. The earl of Monmouth fent to the Tower. & XLVII. Enquiry into miscarriages by sea. § XLVIII. Negociations at Ryswick. S 3 & XLIX.

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§ XLIX. The French take Barcelona. § L. Fruilless expedition of admiral Neville to the West Indies. § LI. The elector of Saxony is chosen king of Poland. § LII. Peter the czar of Muscovy travels in disguise with his own ambassadors. § LIII. Proceedings in the congress at Ryswick. § LIV. The ambassadors of England, Spain, and Holland, sign the treaty. § LV. A general pacification.

§1. THE kingdom now resounded with the complaints of the papifts and malcontents, who taxed the ministry with subornation of perjury in the case of the Lancashire gentlemen who had been profecuted for the conspiracy. One Lunt, an Irishman, had informed fir John Trenchard, fecretary of state, that he had been fent from Ireland with commissions from king James to divers gentlemen in Lancashire and Cheshire: That he had assisted in buying arms and enlifting men to ferve that king in his projected invalion of England: That he had been twice dispatched by those gentlemen to the court of St. Germain; affifted many Jacobites in repairing to France; helped to conceal others that came from that kingdom; and that all those persons told him they were furnished with money by fir John Friend to defray the expence of their expedition. His testimony was confirmed by other infamous emissaries, who received but too much countenance from the government. Blank warrants were iffued, and filled up occasionally with fuch names as the informers fuggested. These were delivered to Aaron Smith, folicitor to the treasury, who, with meffengers, accompanied Lunt and his affociates to Lancashire, under the protection of a party of Dutch horse-guards, commanded by one captain Baker. They were empowered to break open houses, seize papers, and apprehend persons according to their pleasure; and they committed many acts of violence and oppression. The persons against whom these measures were taken, being apprised of the impending danger, generally retired from their own habitations. Some, however, were taken and imprisoned: A few arms were secured; and, in the house of Mr. Standish, of Standish hall, they found the draught

draught of a declaration to be published by king James at his landing. As this profecution feemed calculated to revive the honour of a stale conspiracy, and the evidences were persons of abandoned characters, the friends of those who were perfecuted found no great difficulty in rendering the scheme odious to the nation. They even employed the pen of Ferguson, who had been concerned in every plot that was hatched fince the Rye-house conspiracy. This veteran, though appointed house-keeper to the excise-office, thought himself poorly recompensed for the part he had acted in the revolution, became diffatisfied, and, upon this occasion, published a letter to fir John Trenchard on the abuse of power. It was replete with the most bitter invectives against the ministry, and contained a great number of flagrant instances, in which the court had countenanced the vilest corruption, perfidy, and oppression. This production was in every body's hand, and had fuch an effect upon the people, that when the prisoners were brought to trial at Manchester, the populace would have put the witnesses to death, had they not been prevented by the interpolition of those who were friends to the accused persons, and had already taken effectual measures for their safety. Lunt's chief associate in the mystery of information was one Taasse, a wretch of the most profligate principles, who, finding himself disappointed in his hope of reward from the miniftry, was privately gained over by the agents for the priloners. Lunt, when defired in court to point out the persons whom he had accused, committed such a mistake as greatly invalidated his testimony; and Taasse declared before the bench, that the pretended plot was no other than a contrivance between himself and Lunt, in order to procure money from the government. The prisoners were immediately acquitted, and the ministry incurred a heavy load of popular odium, as the authors or abertors of knavish contrivances to enfoare the innocent. The government, with a view to evince their abhorrence of fuch practices, ordered the witnesses to be prosecuted for a conspiracy against the lives and estates of the gentlemen who had been accused; and at last the affair was brought into

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into the house of commons. The Jacobites triumphed in their victory: They even turned the battery of corruption upon the evidence of the crown, not without making a confiderable impression. But the cause was now debated before judges, who were not at all propitious to their views. The commons having fet on foot an enquiry, and examined all the papers and circumstances relating to the pretended plot, resolved, That there was fufficient ground for the profecution and trials of the gentlemen at Manchester; and that there was a dangerous conspiracy against the king and government. They issued an order for taking Mr. Standish into custody; and the messenger reporting that the was not to be found, they prefented an address to the king, defiring a proclamation might be published, offering a reward for apprehending his person. The peers concurred with the commons in their fentiments of this affair; for complaints having been laid before their house also, by the persons who thought themselves aggrieved, the question was put, Whether the government had cause to prosecute them? and carried in the affirmative; though a protest was entered against this vote by the earls of Rochester and Nottingham. Notwithstanding these decisions, the accused gentlemen profecuted Lunt and two of his accomplices for perjury, at the Lancaster assizes; and all three were found guilty. They were immediately indicted by the crown; for a conspiracy against the lives and liberties of the persons they had accused. The intention of the ministry in laying this indictment, was to feize the opportunity of punishing some of the witnesses for the gentlemen, who had prevaricated in giving their testimony: But the defign being discovered, the Lancashire men refused to produce their evidence against the informers: The profecution dropped of consequence; and the prifoners were discharged.

§ II. When the commons were employed in examining the state of the revenue, and taking measures for raising the necessary supplies, the inhabitants of Royston presented a petition, complaining, That the officers and soldiers of the regiment belonging to colonel Hastings,

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which was quartered upon them, exacted subfiftencemoney, even upon pain of military execution. The house was immediately kindled into a flame by this information. The officers, and Pauncefort, agent for the regiment, were examined: Then it was unanimously resolved, That such a practice was arbitrary, illegal, and a violation of the rights and liberties of the fubjects. Upon further enquiry, Pauncefort and some other agents were committed to the custody of the serjeant, for having neglected to pay the subfishence-money they had received for the officers and foldiers. He was afterwards fent to the Tower, together with Henry Guy, a member of the house and secretary to the treasury, the one for giving, and the other for receiving a bribe to obtain the king's bounty. Pauncefort's brother was likewife committed, for being concerned in the fame commerce. Guy had been employed, together with Trevor, the fpeaker, as the court-agent for fecuring a majority in the house of commons: For that reason, he was obpoxious to the members in the opposition, who took this opportunity to brand him; and the courtiers could not, with any decency, fkreen him from their vengeance. The house having proceeded in this enquiry, drew up an address to the king, enumerating the abuses which had crept into the army, and demanding immediate redrefs. He promised to consider the remonstrance, and redrefs the grievances of which they complained. Accordingly, he cashiered colonel Hastings; appointed a council of officers to fit weekly, and examine all complaints against any officer and soldier; and published a declaration for the maintenance of first discipline, and the due payment of quarters. Notwithstanding these concelfions, the commons profecuted their examinations: They committed Mr. James Craggs, one of the contractors for clothing the army, because he refused to answer upon oath to such questions as might be put to him by the commissioners of accounts. They brought in a hill for obliging him and Mr. Richard Harnage, the other contractor, together with the two Paunceforts, to discover how they had disposed of the sums

paid into their hands on account of the army; and for punishing them, in case they should persist in their refusal. At this period, they received a petition against the commissioners for licensing hackney-coaches. Three of them, by means of an address to the king, were removed with disgrace, for having acted arbitrarily, corruptly, and contrary to the trust reposed in them by act

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6 III. Those who encouraged this spirit of reformation, introduced another enquiry about the orphans bill, which was faid to have passed into an act by virtue of undue influence. A committee being appointed to infpect the chamberlain's books, discovered that bribes had been given to fir John Trevor, speaker of the house, and Mr. John Hungerford, chairman of the grand committee. The first being voted guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor, abdicated the chair; and Paul Foley was appointed speaker in his room. Then fir John and Hungerford were expelled the house: One Nois, a solicitor for the bill, was taken into custody, because he had scandalized the commons, in pretending he was engaged to give great fums to feveral members, and denying this circumstance on his examination. The reformers in the house naturally concluded that the same arts had been practifed in obtaining the new charter of the East India company, which had been granted fo much against the sense of the nation. Their books were subjected to the same committee that carried on the former enquiry, and a furprifing scene of venality and corruption was soon disclosed. It appeared that the company, in the course of the preceding year, had paid near ninety thousand pounds in fecret services; and that fir Thomas Cooke, one of the directors, and a member of the house, had been the chief manager of this infamous commerce. Cooke, refufing to answer, was committed to the Tower, and a bill of pains and penalties brought in, obliging him to discover how the sum, mentioned in the report of the committee, had been distributed. The bill was violently opposed in the upper house by the duke of Leeds, as being contrary to law and equity, and furnishing a precedent

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cedent of a dangerous nature. Cooke being, agreeable to his own petition, brought to the bar of the house of lords, declared that he was ready and willing to make a full discovery, in case he might be favoured with an indemnifying vote, to secure him against all actions and suits, except those of the East India company, which he had never injured. The lords complied with his request, and passed a bill for this purpose, to which the commons added a penal clause; and the former was laid

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1695. § IV. When the king went to the house, to give the royal affent to the money bills, he endeavoured to discourage this enquiry, by telling the parliament that the feafon of the year was far advanced, and the circumstances of affairs extremely pressing: He therefore defired they would dispatch such business as they should think of most importance to the public, as he should put an end to the fession in a few days. Notwithstanding this shameful interposition, both houses appointed a joint committee to lay open the complicated scheme of fraud and iniquity. Cooke, on his first examination, confessed that he had delivered tallies for ten thousand pounds to Francis Tyssen, deputy-governor, for the special service of the company; an equal fum to Richard Acton, for employing his interest in preventing a new settlement, and endeavouring to establish the old company; besides two thousand pounds by way of interest, and as a further gratuity; a thousand guineas to colonel Fitzpatrick, five hundred to Charles Bates, and three hundred-and-ten to Mr. Molineux, a merchant, for the same purpose; and he owned that fir Bafil Firebrace had received forty thousand pounds on various pretences. He said, he believed the ten thousand pounds paid to Tyssen had been delivered to the king by fir Josiah Child, as a customary present which former kings had received; and that the fums paid to Acton were distributed among some members of parliament. Firebrace being examined, affirmed that he had received the whole forty thousand pounds for his own use and benefit; but that Bates had received sums of money, which he understood were offered to

fome persons of the first quality. Acton declared, that ten thousand pounds of the fum which he had received was distributed among persons who had interest with members of parliament; and that great part of the money paffed through the hands of Craggs, who was acquainted with some colonels in the house, and northern members. Bates owned he had received the money, in confideration of using his interest with the duke of Leeds in favour of the company: That this nobleman knew of the gratuity; and that the fum was reckoned by his grace's domestic, one Robart, a foreigner, who kept it in his possession until this enquiry was talked of, and then it was returned. In a word, it appeared by this man's testimony, as well as by that of Firebrace on his second examination, that the duke of Leeds was not free from corruption, and that fir John Trevor was a hireling prostitute.

& V. The report of the committee produced violent altercations, and the most severe strictures upon the conduct of the lord prefident. At length, the house resolved, that there was sufficient matter to impeach Thomas duke of Leeds, of high crimes and misdemeanors; and that he should be impeached thereupon. Then it was ordered, that Mr. comptroller Wharton should impeach him before the lords, in the name of the drouse, and of all the commons of England. The duke was actually in the middle of a speech for his own justification, in which he affured the house, upon his honour, that he was not guilty of the corruptions laid to his charge, when one of his friends gave him intimation of the votes which had paffed in the commons. He concluded his speech abruptly, and repairing to the lower house, defired he might be indulged with a hearing. He was accordingly admitted, with the compliment of a chair, and leave to be covered. After having fat a few minutes, he took off his hat, and addressed himself to the commons in very extraordinary terms. Having thanked them for their favour of indulging him with a hearing, he faid, that house would not have been then fitting but for him. He protested his own inno-

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tence, with respect to the crime laid to his charge. He complained that this was the effect of a defign which had been long formed against him. He expressed a deep fense of his being under the displeasure of the parliament and nation, and demanded speedy justice. They forthwith drew up the articles of impeachment; which being exhibited at the bar of the upper house, he pleaded not guilty; and the commons promifed to make good their charge: But, by this time, fuch arts had been used, as all at once checked the violence of the profecution. Such a number of confiderable persons were involved in this mystery of corruption, that a full discovery was dreaded by both parties. The duke fent his domestic. Robart, out of the kingdom; and his absence furnished a pretence for postponing the trial. In a word, the enquiry was dropped; but the scandal stuck fast to the duke's character.

§ VI. In the midst of these deliberations, the king went to the house on the third day of May, when he thanked the parliament for the supplies they had granted; signified his intention of going abroad; assured them he would place the administration of assairs in persons of known care and sidelity; and desired that the members of both houses would be more than ordinarily vigilant in preserving the public peace. The parliament was then prorogued to the eighteenth of June. The king immediately appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence: But neither the princess of Denmark nor her husband were instrusted with any share in the administration: A circumstance that evinced the king's jealousy, and gave offence to a great part of the nation †.

§ VII. A session of parliament was deemed necessary in Scotland, to provide new subsidies for the maintenance of the troops of that kingdom, which had been so ferviceable in the prosecution of the war. But, as a great outery had been raised against the government,

See note [Q] at the end of the volume.

⁺ See note [R] at the end of the volume,

on account of the massacre of Glencoe, and the Scots were tired of contributing towards the expence of a war from which they could derive no advantage, the ministry thought proper to cajole them with the promise of some national indulgence. In the meantime a commission paffed the great feal, for taking a precognition of the massacre, as a previous step to the trial of the persons concerned in that perfidious transaction. On the ninth of May the fession was opened by the marquis of Tweedale, appointed commissioner, who, after the king's letter had been read, expatiated on his majesty's care and concern for their fafety and welfare, and his firm purpose to maintain the presbyterian discipline in the church of Scotland. Then he promifed, in the king's name, that if they would pass an act for establishing a colony in Africa, America, or any other part of the world where a colony might be lawfully planted, his majesty would indulge them with such rights and privileges as he had granted in like cases to the subjects of his other dominions. Finally, he exhorted them to confider ways and means to raife the necessary supplies for maintaining their land forces, and for providing a competent number of ships of war to protect their commerce. The parliament immediately voted an address of condolence to his majesty on the death of the queen; and they granted one hundred-and-twenty thousand pounds sterling for the service of the ensuing year, to be raifed by a general poll-tax, a land-tax, and an additional excise.

§ VIII. Their next step was to desire the commissioner would transmit their humble thanks to the king, for his care to vindicate the honour of the government and the justice of the nation, in ordering a precognition to be taken with respect to the slaughter of Glencoe. A motion was afterwards made, that the commissioners should exhibit an account of their proceedings in this assair: Accordingly, a report, consisting of the king's instructions, Dalrymple's letters, the depositions of witnesses, and the opinion of the committee, was laid before the parliament. The motion is said to have been

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privately influenced by fecretary Johnston, for the difgrace of Dalrymple, who was his rival in power and interest. The written opinion of the commissioners, who were creatures of the court, imported, that Macdonald of Glencoe had been perfidiously murdered; that the king's intentions contained nothing to warrant the massacre; and that secretary Dalrymple had exceeded his orders. The parliament concurred with this report. They resolved, that Livingston was not to blame for having given the orders contained in his letters to lieut, col. Hamilton: That this last was liable to profecution: That the king should be addressed to give orders either for examining major Duncanson in Flanders, touching his concern in this affair, or for fending him home to be tried in Scotland; as also, that Campbell of Glenlyon, captain Drummond, lieutenant Lindsey, enfign Lundy, and ferjeant Barber, should be fent to Scotland, and profecuted according to law, for the parts they had acted in that execution. In consequence of these resolutions, the parliament drew up an address to the king, in which they laid the whole blame of the massacre upon the excess in the master of Stair's letters concerning that transaction. They begged that his majefty would give fuch orders about him, as he should think fit for the vindication of his government; that the actors in that barbarous flaughter might be profecuted by the king's advocate, according to law; and that fome reparation might be made to the men of Glencoe who escaped the massacre, for the losses they had sustained in their effects upon that occasion; as their habitations had been plundered and burned, their lands wasted, and their cattle driven away; so that they were reduced to extreme poverty. Notwithstanding this address of the Scottish parliament, by which the king was so folemnly exculpated, his memory is still loaded with the suspicion of having concerted, countenanced, and enforced this barbarous execution; especially as the master of Stair escaped with impunity, and the other actors of the tragedy, far from being punished, were preferred in the fervice. While the commissioners were employed in the T 2

enquiry, they made fuch discoveries concerning the conduct of the earl of Breadalbane, as amounted to a charge of high-treason; and he was committed to the castle of Edinburgh: But it seems he had dissembled with the Highlanders, by the king's permission, and now sheltered

himself under the shadow of a royal pardon.

& IX. The committee of trade, in pursuance of the powers granted by the king to his commissioner, prepared an act for establishing a company trading to Africa and the Indies, empowering them to plant colonies, hold cities, towns, or forts, in places uninhabited, or in others, with the confent of the natives; vesting them with an exclusive right, and an exemption for one-andtwenty years from all duties or impositions. This act was likewife confirmed by letters patent under the great feal, directed by the parliament, without any further warrant from the crown. Paterson, the projector, had contrived the scheme of a settlement upon the isthmus of Darien, in such a manner as to carry on a trade in the South Sea, as well as in the Atlantic; nay, even to extend it as far as the East Indies: A great number of London merchants, allured by the prospect of gain, were eager to engage in fuch a company, exempted from all manner of imposition and restriction. The Scottish parliament likewife paffed an act in favour of the epifcopal clergy, decreeing, that those who should enter into such engagements to the king, as were by law required, might continue in their benefices under his majesty's protection, without being subject to the power of presbytery. venty of the most noted ministers of that persuasion took the benefit of this indulgence. Another law was enacted for raising nine thousand men yearly, to recruit the Scotish regiments abroad; and an act for erecting a public bank: Then the parliament was adjourned to the seventh day of November.

§ X. Ireland began to be infected with the fame factions which had broke out in England fince the revolution. Lord Capel, the lord-deputy, governed in a very partial manner, oppressing the Irish papists without any regard to equity or decorum. He undertook to

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model a parliament in fuch a manner, that they should comply with all the demands of the ministry: And he fucceeded in his endeavours, by making fuch arbitrary changes in offices as best suited his purpose. These precautions being taken, he convoked a parliament for the twenty-seventh day of August, when he opened the fession with a speech, expatiating upon their obligations to king William, and exhorting them to make fuitable returns to fuch a gracious fovereign. He observed, that the revenue had fallen short of the establishment; so that both the civil and military lifts were greatly in debt: That his majesty had fent over a bill for an additional excise, and expected they would find ways and means to answer the demands of the service. They forthwith voted an address of thanks, and resolved to affift his majesty to the utmost of their power, against all his enemies, foreign and domestic. They passed the bill for an additional excise, together with an act for taking away the writ, " De heretico comburendo;" another annulling all attainders and acts passed in the late pretended parliament of king James: A third to prevent foreign education: A fourth for difarming papifts: And a fifth for fettling the estates of intestates. Then they resolved, that a fum not exceeding one hundred and fixty-three thousand three hundred and twenty-five pounds, should be granted to his majesty, to be raised by a poll-bill, additional customs, and a continuation of the additional excise. Sir Charles Porter, the chancellor, finding his importance diminished, if not entirely destroyed, by the assuming disposition and power of the lord-deputy, began to court popularity, by espousing the cause of the Irish, against the severity of the administration; and actually formed a kind of Tory interest, which thwarted lord Capel in all his measures. A motion was made in parliament to impeach the chancellor, for fowing discord and division among his majesty's subjects: but, being indulged with a hearing by the house of commons, he justified himself so much to their fatisfaction, that he was voted clear of all imputation, by a great majority. Nevertheless, they, at the end of the feffion,

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§ XI. King William having taken fuch fteps as were deemed necessary for preserving the peace of Eng. land in his absence, croffed the sea to Holland in the middle of May, fully determined to make some great effort in the Netherlands, that might aggrandife his military character, and humble the power of France, which was already on the decline. That kingdom was actually exhausted in such a manner, that the haughty Louis found himfelf obliged to stand upon the defensive against enemies over whom he had been used to triumph with uninterrupted fuccefs. He heard the clamours of his people, which he could not quiet: He faw his advances to peace rejected; and to crown his misfortunes, he sustained an irreparable loss in the death of Francis de Montmorency, duke of Luxembourg, to whose military talents he owed the greatest part of his glory and fuccess. This great officer died in January at Verfailles, in the fixty-feventh year of his age; and Louis lamented his death the more deeply, as he had not another general left in whose understanding he could confide. The conduct of the army in Flanders was entrusted to mareschal Villeroy; and Boufflers commanded a separate army, though subject to the other's orders. As the French king took it for granted that the confedera:es would have a superiority of numbers in the field, and was well acquainted with the enterprifing genius of their chief, he ordered a new line to be drawn between Lys and the Scheldt: He caused a disposition to be made for covering Dunkirk, Ypres, Tournay, and Namur; and laid injunctions on his general to act folely on the defensive: Meanwhile, the confederates formed two armies in the Netherlands. The first confisted of feventy battalions of infantry, and eighty-two fquadrons of horse and dragoons, chiefly English and Scots, encamped at Aerseele, Caneghem, and Wouterghem, between Thield and Devnse, to be commanded by the king in person, affisted by the old prince of Vaudemont. The

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The other army, composed of fixteen battalions of foot, and one hundred-and-thirty fquadrons of horse, encamped at Zellich and Hamme, on the road from Bruffels to Dendermonde, under the command of the elector of Bavaria, seconded by the Duke of Holstein-ploen. Major-general Ellemberg was posted near Dixmuyde with twenty battalions and ten squadrons; and another body of Brandenburgh and Dutch troops, with a reinforcement from Leige, lay encamped on the Mehaigne, under the conduct of the baron de Heyden, lieutenantgeneral of Brandenburgh, and the count de Berlo, general of the Leige cavalry. King William arrived in the camp on the fifth day of July, and remained eight days at Aerseele. Then he marched to Becklar, while Villeroy retired behind his lines between Menin and Ypres, after having detached ten thouland men to reinforce Boufflers, who had advanced to Pont d'Espieres; But he too retreating within his lines, the elector of Bavaria passed the Scheldt, and took post at Kirkhoven: At the same time the body under Heyden advanced to Namur.

§ XII. The king of England, having by his motions drawn the forces of the enemy on the fide of Flanders, directed the baron de Hevden and the earl of Athlone, who commanded forty squadrons from the camp of the elector of Bavaria, to invest Namur; and this fervice was performed on the third day of July: But, as the place was not entirely furrounded, mareschal Boufflers threw himself into it, with such a reinforcement of dragoons as augmented the garrison to the number of fifteen thousand chosen men. King William and the elector brought up the rest of the forces, which encamped on both fides of the Sambre and the Maese; and the lines of circumvallation were begun on the fixth day of July, under the direction of the celebrated engineer general Coehorn. The place was formerly very strong, both by situation and art; but the French, since its last reduction, had made fuch additional works, that both the town and citadel feemed impregnable. Confidering the number of the garrison, and the quality of the troops. troops, commanded by a mareichal of France, diffinguished by his valour and conduct, the enterprife was deemed an undeniable proof of William's temerity. On the eleventh the trenches were opened, and the next day the batteries began to play with incredible fury. The king receiving intelligence of the motion made by a body of French troops, with a view to intercept the convoys, detached twenty squadrons of horse and dragoons to

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& XIII. Prince Vaudemont, who was left at Rofelaer with fifty battalions, and the like number of squadrons, understanding that Villeroy had passed the Lys. in order to attack him, took post with his left near Grammen, his right by Aerseele and Caneghem, and began to fortify his camp, with a view to expect the enemy. Their vanguard appearing on the evening of the thirteenth at Dentreyhem, he changed the disposition of his camp, and entrenched himself on both sides. Next day, however, perceiving Villeroy's defign was to furround him, by means of another body of troops commanded by M. Montal, who had already pailed the Thieldt for that purpose, he refolved to avoid an engagement, and effected a retreat to Ghent, which is celebrated as one of the most capital efforts of military conduct. He forthwith detached twelve battalions and twelve pieces of cannon, to fecure Newport, which Villeroy had intended to invest: But that general now changed his resolution, and undertook the siege of Dixmuyde, garrifoned by eight battalions of foot and a regiment of dragoons, commanded by major-general Ellemberg, who, in fix-and-thirty hours after the trenches were opened, furrendered himself and his soldiers prifoners of war. This fcandalous example was followed by colonel Ofarrel, who yielded up Deynfe on the fame fhameful conditions, even before a battery was opened by the beliegers. In the fequel they were both tried for their misbehaviour: Ellemberg suffered death, and Ofarrel was broke with infamy. The prince Vaudemont fent a message to the French general, demanding the garrison of those two places, according to a cartel which

which had been fettled between the powers at war; but no regard was paid to this remonstrance. Villeroy, after feveral marches and countermarches, appeared before Bruffels on the thirteenth day of August, and sent a letter to the prince of Berghem, governor of that city, importing, that the king, his mafter, had ordered him to bombard the town, by way of making reprifals for the damage done by the English fleet to the maritime towns of France. He likewise desired to know in what part the electress of Bavaria resided, that he might not fire into that quarter. After this declaration, which was no more than an unmeaning compliment, he began to bombard and cannonade the place with red-hot bullets, which produced conflagrations in many different parts of the city, and frightened the electress into a miscarriage. On the fifteenth the French discontinued their firing, and

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& XIV. During these transactions the siege of Namur was profecuted with great ardour, under the eye of the king of England; while the garrison defended the place with equal spirit and perseverance. On the eighteenth day of July major-general Ramfay and lord Cutts, at the head of five battalions, English, Scots, and Dutch, attacked the enemy's advanced works, on the right of the counterfearp. They were fustained by fix English battalions, commanded by brigadier-general Fitzpatrick; while eight foreign regiments, with nine thousand pioneers, advanced on the left, under major-general Salifch. The affault was desperate and bloody, the enemy maintaining their ground for two hours with undaunted courage: But at last they were obliged to give way, and were, purfued to the very gates of the town; though not before they had killed or wounded twelve hundred men of the confederate army. The king was fo well pleafed with the behaviour of the British troops, that during the action he laid his hand upon the shoulder of the elector of Bavaria, and exclaimed with emotion, "See my brave. "English!" On the twenty-seventh the English and Scots, under Ramfay and Hamilton, affaulted the counterscarp, where they met with prodigious opposition

from the fire of the belieged. Nevertheless, being fultained by the Dutch, they made a lodgment on the foremost covered-way before the gate of St. Nicholas, as also upon part of the counter-guard. The valour of the affailants on this occasion was altogether unprecedented, and almost incredible; while, on the other hand, the courage of the belieged was worthy of praise and admira-Several persons were killed in the trenches at the fide of the king: and among these Mr. Godfrey, deputygovernor of the bank of England, who had come to the camp to confer with his majefty about remitting money for the payment of the army. On the thirtieth day of July the elector of Bavaria attacked Vauban's line that furrounded the works of the caftle. General Coehorn was present in this action, which was performed with equal valour and fuccess. They not only broke the line, but even took possession of Coehorn's fort, in which, however, they found it impossible to effect a lodgment. On the fecond day of August lord Cutts, with four hundred English and Dutch grenadiers, attacked the faillantangle of a demi-bastion, and lodged himself on the second counterfearp. The breaches being now practicable, and preparations made for a general affault, count Guifcard, the governor, capitulated for the town on the fourth of August; and the French retired into the citadal, against which twelve batteries played, upon the thirteenth. The trenches, meanwhile, were carried on with great expedition, notwithstanding all the efforts of the belieged, who fired without cealing, and exerted amazing diligence and intrepidity in defending and repairing the damage they fustained. At length, the annovance became so dreadful from the unintermitting showers of bombs and red-hot bullets, that Boutslers, after having made divers furious fallies, formed a scheme for breaking through the confederate camp with his cavalry. This, however, was prevented by the extreme vigilance of king William,

& XV. After the bombardment of Bruffels, Villeroy, being reinforced with all the troops that could be drafted from garrifons, advanced towards Namur, with an army

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of ninety thousand men; and prince Vaudemont being joined by the prince of Heffe, with a strong body of forces from the Rhine, took possession of the strong camp at Mafy, within five English miles of the befieging army. The king, understanding that the enemy had reached Fleurus, where they discharged ninety pieces of cannon as a fignal to inform the garrison of their appr ach, left the conduct of the fiege to the elector of Bavaria, and took upon himself the command of the covering army. in order to oppose Villeroy; who, being further reinforced by a detachment from German, declared that he would hazard a battle for the relief of Namur. when he wed the posture of the allies near Masy, he changed his refolution, and retired in the night without noise. On the thirtieth day of August the besieged were fummoned to furrender, by count Horn, who, in a parley with the count de Lamont, general of the French infantry, gave him to understand, that mareschal Villeroy had retired towards the Mehaigne; fo that the garrison could not expect to be relieved. No immediate answer being returned to this message, the parley was broke off, and the king refolved to proceed without delay to a general affault; which he had already planned with the elector and his other generals. Between one and two in the afternoon lord Cutts, who defired the command, though it was not his turn of duty, rushed out of the trenches of the second line, at the head of three hundred grenadiers, to make a lodgment in the breach of Terranova, supported by the regiments of Coulthorp, Buchan, Hamilton, and Mackay; while colonel Marfelly, with a body of Dutch, the Bavarians, and Brandenburghers. attacked at two other places. The affailants met with fuch a warm reception, that the English grenadiers were repulfed, even after they had mounted the breach, lord Cutts being for some time disabled by a shot in the Marfelly was defeated, taken, and afterwards killed by a cannon-ball from the batteries of the be-The Bavarians, by mistaking their way, were exposed to a terrible fire, by which their general, count Rivera, and a great number of their officers were flain :

Nevertheless, they fixed themselves on the outward entrenchment, on the point of the Coehorn next to the Sambre, and maintained their ground with amazing fortitude. Lord Cutts, when his wound was dreffed, returned to the scene of action, and ordered two hundred chosen men of Mackay's regiment, commanded by lieutenant Cockle, to attack the face of the faillant-angle next to the breach, fword in hand, while the enfigns of the fame regiment should advance and plant their colours on the pallitadoes. Cockle and his detachment executed the command he had received with admirable intrepidity. They broke through the pallifadoes, drove the French from the covered way, made a lodgment in one of the batteries, and turned the cannon against the enemy. The Bavarians being thus fustained, made their post good. The major-generals La Cave and Schwerin lodged themselves at the same time on the covered way; and though the general affault did not fucceed in its full extent, the confederates remained mafters of a very confiderable lodgment, nearly an English mile in length. Yet this was dearly purchased with the lives of two thousand men, including many officers of great rank and reputation. During the action the elector of Bavaria fignalized his courage in a very remarkable manner, riding from place to place through the hottest of the fire, giving his directions with notable presence of mind, according to the emergency of circumstances, animating the officers with praise and promise of preferment, and diffributing handfuls of gold among the private foldiers.

§ XVI. On the first day of September, the besieged having obtained a cessation of arms, that their dead might be buried, the count de Guiscard appearing on the breach, desired to speak with the elector of Bavaria. His highness immediately mounting the breach, the French governor offered to surrender the fort of Coehorn; but was given to understand, that if he intended to capitulate he must treat for the whole. This reply being communicated to Bousslers, he agreed to the proposal: The cessation was prolonged, and that very evening the capitulation was finished. Villeroy, who lay

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encamped at Gemblours, was no fooner apprifed of this event, by a triple discharge of all the artillery, and a running fire along the lines of the confederate army. than he paffed the Sambre near Charleroy, with great precipitation; and having reinforced the garrison of Dinant, retreated towards the lines in the neighbourhood of Mons. On the fifth day of September the French garrison, which was now reduced from fifteen to five thousand five hundred men, evacuated the citadel of Boufflers, in marching out, was arrested in the name of his Britannic majesty, by way of reprisal for the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse, which the French king had detained, contrary to the cartel fubfifting between the two nations. The mareschal was not a little discomposed at this unexpected incident, and expostulated warmly with Mr. Dyckvelt, who affured him the king of Great Britain entertained a profound respect for his person and character. William even offered to fet him at liberty, provided he would pass his word that the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse should be fent back, or that he himself would return in a fortnight. He faid, that he could not enter into any fuch engagement, as he did not know his mafter's reafons for detaining the garrifons in question. He was therefore reconveyed to Namur; from thence removed to Maestricht, and treated with great reverence and respect. till the return of an officer, whom he had dispatched to Versailles with an account of his captivity. Then he engaged his word, that the garrifons of Dixmuyde and Deynse should be sent back to the allied army. He was immediately released, and conducted in safety to Dinant. When he repaired to Verfailles, Louis received him with very extraordinary marks of esteem and affection. He embraced him in public with the warmelt expressions of regard; declared himself perfectly well satisfied with his conduct; created him a duke and peer of France; and presented him with a very large sum, in acknowledgment of his fignal fervices.

§ XVII. After the reduction of Namur, which greatly enhanced the military character of king William, he Vol. I.

retired to his house at Loo, which was his favourite place of refidence, leaving the command to the elector of Bavaria; and about the latter end of September both armies began to separate. The French forces retired within their lines. A good number of the allied troops were distributed in different garrisons; and a strong detachment marched towards Newport, under the command of the prince of Wirtemberg, for the security of that place. Thus ended the campaign in the Netherlands. On the Rhine nothing of moment was attempted by either army. The mareschal de Lorges, in the beginning of June, passed the Rhine at Philipsburgh; and, posting himself at Brucksal, sent out parties to ravage the country. On the eleventh of the same month the prince of Baden joined the German army at Steppah, and on the eighth of July was reinforced by the troops of the other German confederates, in the neighbourhood of Wiselock. On the nineteenth the French retired without noise, in the night, towards Manheim, where they repassed the river, without any interruption from the Imperial general: Then he fent off a large detachment to Flanders. The same step was taken by the prince of Baden; and each army lay inactive in their quarters for the remaining part of the campaign. The command of the Germans in Hungary was conferred upon the elector of Saxony: But the court of Vienna was fo dilatory in their preparations, that he was not in a condition to act till the middle of August. Lord Paget had been fent ambaffador from England to the Ottoman porte, with instructions relating to a pacification: But before he could obtain an audience, the fultan died, and was fucceeded by his pephew, Mustapha, who resolved to profecute the war in person. The warlike genius of this new emperor afforded but an uncomfortable prospect to his people, considering that Peter, the czar of Muscovy, had taken the opportunity of the war in Hungary, to invade the Crimea, and beliege Azoph: So that the Tartars were too much employed at home to spare the fuccours which the fultan demanded. Nevertheless Mustapha and his visir took the field before the Impe-

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rialiffs could commence the operations of the campaign. passed the Danube, took Lippa and Titul by affault, stormed the camp of general Veterani, who was posted at Lugos with feven thousand men, and who lost his life in the action. The infantry were cut to pieces, after having made a desperate defence; but the horse retreated to Carousebes, under the conduct of general Trusches. The Turks, after this exploit, retired to Orlowa. Their navy, meanwhile, surprised the Venetian fleet at Scio, where feveral ships of the republic were destroyed; and they recovered that island, which the Venetians thought proper to abandon: But, in order to balance this misfortune, thefe last obtained a complete victory over the bashaw of Negropont, in the

& XVIII. The French king still maintained a fecret negociation with the duke of Savoy, whose conduct had been for some time mysterious and equivocal. Contrary to the opinion of his allies, he undertook the fiege of Cafal, which was counted one of the strongest fortifications in Europe, defended by a numerous garrison, abundantly supplied with ammunition and provision. The fiege was begun about the middle of May, and the place was furrendered by capitulation in about fourteen days; to the aftonishment of the confederates, who did not know that this was a facrifice by which the French court obtained the duke's forbearance during the remaining part of the campaign. The capitulation imported, That the place should be restored to the duke of Mantua, who was the rightful proprietor: That the fortifications should be demolished at the expence of the allies: That the garrison should remain in the fort till that work should be completed: And hostages were exchanged for the performance of these conditions. The duke understood the art of procrastination so well, that September was far advanced before the place was wholly difmantled; and then he was feized with an ague, which obliged him to quit the breathan to beam to out 2 in south to the § XIX.

& XIX. In Catalonia the French could hardly maintain the footing they had gained. Admiral Russel, who wintered at Cadiz, was created admiral, chief commander, and captain-general of all his majefty's ships employed, or to be employed, in the Narrow Seas and in the Mediterranean. He was reinforced by four thoufand five hundred foldiers, under the command of brigadier-general Stewart; and feven thousand men, Imperialifts as well as Spaniards, were drafted from Italy for the defence of Catalonia. These forces were transported to Barcelona, under the conduct of Admiral Nevil, detached by Russel for that purpose. The affairs of Catalonia had already changed their aspect: Several French parties had been defeated. The Spaniards had blocked up Ostalric and Castel-follit: Noailles had been recalled, and the command devolved to the duke de Vendome, who no fooner understood that the forces from Italy were landed, than he difmantled Oftalric and Castel-follit, and retired to Palamos. The viceroy of Catalonia and the English admiral having resolved to give battle to the enemy, and reduce Palamos, the English troops were landed on the ninth day of August, and the allied army advanced to Palamos. The French appeared in order of battle: but the viceroy declined an engagement. Far from attacking the enemy, he withdrew his forces; and the town was bombarded by the admiral. The miscarriage of this expedition was in a great measure owing to a misunderstanding between Russel and the court of Spain. The admiral complained that his Catholic majesty had made no preparations for the campaign; that he had neglected to fulfil his engagements with respect to the Spanish squadrons, which ought to have joined the fleets of England and Holland: That he had taken no care to provide tents and provision for the British forces. On the twenty-seventh day of August he sailed for the coast of Provence, where the fleet was endangered by a terrible tempest: Then he steered down the Straits, and, towards the latter end of September, arrived in the bay of Cadiz. There he left a number of ships under the command of fir David Mitchel.

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Mitchel, until he should be joined by fir George Rooke, who was expected from England, and returned home

with the rest of the combined squadrons.

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& XX. While admiral Russel afferted the British dominion in the Mediterranean, the French coasts were again infulted in the Channel by a separate fleet, under the command of lord Berkeley of Stratton, affisted by the Dutch admiral Allemonde. On the fourth day of July they anchored before St. Maloes, which they bombarded from nine ketches, covered by fome frigates, which fustained more damage than was done to the enemy. On the fixth, Granville underwent the fame fate; and then the fleet returned to Portsmouth. The bomb-vessels being refitted, the fleet sailed round to the Downs, where four hundred foldiers were embarked for an attempt upon Dunkirk, under the direction of Meesters the famous Dutch engineer, who had prepared his infernals, and other machines for the fervice. the first day of August the experiment was tried without fuccess. The bombs did some execution: But two fmoke-ships miscarried. The French had secured the Rifbank and wooden forts with piles, bombs, chains, and floating batteries, in fuch a manner, that the machine-veffels could not approach near enough to produce any effect. Besides, the councils of the assailants were distracted by violent animosities, The English officers hated Meesters, because he was a Dutchman, and had acquired fome credit with the king; he, on the other hand, treated them with difrespect. He retired with his machines in the night, and refused to co-operate with lord Berkeley in his defign upon Calais, which was now put in execution. On the fixteenth he brought his batteries to bear upon this place, and fet fire to it in different quarters: But the enemy had taken fuch precautions as rendered his scheme abortive.

§ XXI. A squadron had been sent to the West Indies under the joint command of captain Robert Wilmor and colonel Lilingston, with twelve hundred land forces. They had instructions to co-operate with the Spaniards in Hispaniola, against the French settlements on that

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island, and to destroy their fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, in their return. They were accordingly joined by feventeen hundred Spaniards, raifed by the president of St. Domingo; but instead of proceeding against Petit Guavas, according to the directions they had received, Wilmot took possession of Port Francois, and plundered the country for his own private advantage, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Lilingston, who protested against his conduct. In a word, the sea and land officers lived in a state of perpetual dissention; and both became extremely difagreeable to the Spaniards, who foon renounced all connexion with them and their defigns. In the beginning of September the commodore set sail for England, and lost one of his thips in the Gulf of Florida. He himself died in his passage; and the greater part of the men being swept off by an epidemical distemper, the squadron returned to Britain in a most miserable condition. Notwithstanding the great efforts the nation had made to maintain fuch a number of different squadrons for the protection of commerce, as well as to annoy the enemy, the trade fuffered severely from the French privateers, which swarmed in both channels, and made prize of many rich veffels. The marquis of Caermarthen, being stationed with a squadron off the Scilly islands, mistook a fleet of merchant thips for the Brest fleet, and retired with precipitation to Milford-haven. In consequence of this retreat, the privateers took a good number of ships from Barbadoes, and five from the East Indies, valued at a million sterling. The merchants renewed their clamour against the commissioners of the admiralty, who produced their orders and instructions in their own defence. The marquis of Caermarthen had been guilty of flagrant misconduct on this occasion: But the chief source of those national calamities was the circumstantial intelligence transmitted to France from time to time, by the malcontents of England; for they were actuated by a scandalous principle, which they still retain, namely, that of rejoicing in the distress of their country. & XXII.

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& XXII. King William, after having conferred with the States of Holland and the elector of Brandenburgh, who met him at the Hague, embarked for England on the nineteenth day of October, and arrived in fafety at Margate, from whence he proceeded to London, where he was received as a conqueror, amidft the rejoicings and acclamations of the people. On the fame day he fummoned a council at Kenfington, in which it was determined to convoke a new parliament. the nation was in good-humour, it was supposed that they would return fuch members only as were well affected to the government; whereas the present parliament might proceed in its enquiries into corruption and other grievances, and be the less influenced by the crown, as their dependence was of fuch short duration. The parliament was, therefore, disfolved by proclamation, and a new one summoned to meet at Westminster on the twenty-fecond day of November. While the whole nation was occupied in the elections, William, by the advice of his confidants, laid his own disposition under restraint, in another effort to acquire popularity. He honoured the diversions of Newmarket with his presence, and there received a compliment of congratulation from the university of Cambridge. Then he visited the earls of Sunderland, Northampton, and Montague, at their different houses in the country; and proceeded with a splendid retinue to Lincoln, from whence he repaired to Welbeck; a feat belonging to the duke of Newcastle in Nottinghamshire, where he was attended by Dr. Sharp, archbishop of York, and his clergy. He lodged one night with lord Brooke, at Warwick castle, dined with the duke of Shrewsbury at Eyefort, and, by the way of Woodstock, made a solemn entry into Oxford, having been met at some distance from the city by the duke of Ormond, as chancellor of the university, the vice-chancellor, the doctors in their habits, and the magistrates in their formalities. He proceeded directly to the theatre, where he was welcomed in an elegant Latin speech: He received from the chancellor, on his knees, the usual presents of a large English Bible, and book of

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Common-prayer, the cuts of the university, and a pair of gold-fringed gloves. The conduits ran with wine, and a magnificent banquet was prepared; but an anonymous letter being found in the street, importing that there was a design to posson his majesty, William resused to eat or drink in Oxford, and retired immediately to Windsor. Notwithstanding this abrupt departure, which did not savour much of magnanimity, the university chose sir William Trumbal, secretary of state, as one of

their representatives in parliament.

& XXIII. The Whig interest generally prevailed in the elections, though many even of that party were malcontents; and when the parliament met, Foley was again chosen speaker of the commons. The king, in his first speech, extolled the valour of the English forces; expressed his concern at being obliged to demand such large supplies from his people; observed, that the funds had proved very deficient, and the civil lift was in a precarious condition; recommended to their compassion the miserable situation of the French protestants; took notice of the bad state of the coin; defired they would form a good bill for the encouragement and increase of feamen; and contrive laws for the advancement of commerce. He mentioned the great preparations which the French were making for taking the field early; intreated them to use dispatch; expressed his satisfaction at the choice which his people had made of their reprefentatives in the house of commons; and exhorted them to proceed with temper and unanimity. Though the two houses presented addresses of congratulation to the king upon his late fuccess, and promised to affift him in profecuting the war with vigour, the nation loudly exclaimed against the intolerable burthens and losses to which they were subject, by a foreign scheme of politics, which, like an unfathomable abyfs, swallowed up the wealth and blood of the kingdom. All the king's endeavours to cover the difgusting side of his character had proved ineffectual: He was still dry, reserved, and forbidding: And the malcontents inveighed bitterly against his behaviour to the princess Anne of Denmark. the ·mo3

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the news of Namur's being reduced arrived in England, this lady congratulated him upon his fuccess in a dutiful letter, to which he would not deign to fend a reply, either by writing or message; nor had she or her husband been favoured with the flightest mark of regard fince his return to England. The members in the lower house, who had adopted opposing maxims, either from principle or refentment, refolved, that the crown should purchase the supplies with some concession in favour of the people. They therefore brought in the so long contested bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason, and misprission of treason; and considering the critical juncture of affairs, the courtiers were afraid of obstructing such a popular measure. The lords inserted a clause, enacting, that a peer should be tried by the whole peerage; and the commons at once affented to this amendment. The bill provided, that persons indicted for high treason, or misprission of treafon, should be furnished with a copy of the indictment five days before the trial, and indulged with countel to plead in their defence; that no person should be indicted but upon the oaths of two lawful witnesses swearing to overt acts; that in two or more distinct treasons of divers kinds, alledged in one bill of indictment, one witness to one, and another witness to another, should not be deemed two witnesses; that no person should be profecuted for any fuch crime, unless the indictment be found within three years after the offence committed, except in case of a design or attempt to affassinate or poison the king, where this limitation should not take place: That persons indicted for treason, or misprission of treason, should be supplied with copies of the pannel of the jurors, two days at least before the trial, and have process to compel their witnesses to appear: That no evidence should be admitted of any overt act not expressly laid in the indictment: That this act should not extend to any impeachment, or other proceedings in parliament; nor to any indictment for counterfeiting his majesty's coin, his great-seal, privy-seal, sign-manual, or fignet.

§ XXIV.

& XXIV. This important affair being discussed, the commons proceeded to examine the accounts and effimates, and voted above five millions for the service of the ensuing year. The state of the coin was by this time become fuch a national grievance as could not escape the attention of parliament. The lords prepared an address to the throne, for a proclamation to put a stop to the currency of diminished coin; and to this they defired the concurrence of the commons. The lower house, however, determined to take this affair under their own inspection. They appointed a committee of the whole house to deliberate on the state of the nation with respect to the currency. Great opposition was made to recoinage, which was a measure strenuously recommended and supported by Mr. Montague, who acted on this occasion by the advice of the great mathematician fir Isaac Newton. The enemies of this expedient argued, that should the filver coin be called in, it would be impossible to maintain the war abroad, or profecure foreign trade, inasmuch as the merchant could not pay his bills of exchange, nor the foldier receive his subfishence: That a stop would be put to all mutual payment; and this would produce universal confusion and despair. Such a reformation could not be effected without fome danger and difficulty; but it was become absolutely necessary, as the evil daily increased, and in a little time must have terminated in national anarchy. After long and vehement debates, the majority refolved to proceed with all possible expedition to a new coinage. Another question arose, Whether the new coin, in its different denominations, should retain the original weight and purity of the old; or the established standard be raised in value? The famous Locke engaged in this dispute against Mr. Lowndes, who proposed that the standard should be raised: The arguments of Mr. Locke were so convincing, that the committee refolved the established standard should be preserved with respect to weight and fineness. They likewise resolved, That the loss accruing to the revenue from clipped money, should be borne by the public. In order to prevent a total flagnation, they fur-

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ther resolved, That after an appointed day, no clipped money should pass in payment, except to the collectors of the revenue and taxes, or upon loans or payment into the exchequer: That, after another day to be appointed, no clipped money of any fort should pass in any payment whatsoever: And, That a third day should be fixed for all persons to bring in their clipped money to be recoined, after which they should have no allowance upon what they might offer. They addressed the king to issue a proclamation agreeably to these resolutions; and on the nineteenth day of December it was published accord Such were the fears of the people, augmented and inflamed by the enemies of the government, that all payment immediately ceased, and a face of distraction appeared through the whole community. The adversaries of the bill feized this opportunity to aggravate the apprehensions of the public. They inveighed against the ministry, as the authors of this national grievance; they levelled their fatire particularly at Montague; and it required uncommon fortitude and address to avert the most dangerous consequences of popular discontent. The house of commons agreed to the following resolutions:-That twelve hundred thousand pounds should be raised by a duty on glass windows, to make up the loss of the clipped money: That the recompense for supplying the deficiency of clipped money should extend to all filver coin, though of a coarfer alloy than the standard: That the collectors and receivers of his majesty's aids and revenues should be enjoined to receive all such monies: That a reward of five per cent. should be given to all such perfons as should bring in either milled or broad unclipped money, to be applied in exchange of the clipped money throughout the kingdom: That a reward of three-pence per ounce should be given to all persons who should bring in wrought plate to the mint to be coined: That persons might pay in their whole next year's land-tax in clipped money, at one convenient time to be appointed for that purpole: That commissioners should be appointed in every county to pay and distribute the milled and broad unclipped money and the new-coined money, in lieu of that which was diminished. A bill being prepared agreeably

agreeably to these determinations, was fent up to the house of lords, who made some amendments, which the commons rejected: But, in order to avoid the cavils and conferences, they dropped the bill, and brought in another without the clauses, which the lords had inferted. They were again proposed in the upper house, and over-ruled by the majority; and, on the twenty-first day of January, the bill received the royal affent, as did another bill, enlarging the time for purchasing annuities, and continuing the duties on low wines. At the same time the king passed the bill of trials for high-treason, and an act to prevent mercenary elections. Divers merchants and traders petitioned the house of commons, that the losses in their trade and payments, occasioned by the rife in the guineas, might be taken into confideration. A bill was immediately brought in for taking off the obligation and encouragement for coining guineas, for a certain time: And then the commons proceeded to lower the value of this coin: A task in which they met with great opposition from some members, who alledged, that it would foment the popular disturbances. At length, however, the majority agreed, that a guinea should be lowered from thirty to eight-and-twenty shillings, and afterwards to fix-and-twenty: At length a clause was inferted in the bill for encouraging people to bring plate to the mint, fettling the price of a guinea at two-andtwenty shillings; and it naturally funk to its original value of twenty shillings-and-fixpence. Many persons, however, supposing that the price of gold would be raised the next session, hoarded up their guineas; and, upon the fame supposition, encouraged by the malcontents, the new-coined filver money was referved, to the great detriment of commerce. The king ordered mints to be erected in York, Bristol, Exeter, and Chester, for the purpose of the recoinage, which was executed with unexpected success; so that in less than a year, the currency of England, which had been the worst, became the best coin in Europe.

§ XXV. At this period the attention of the commons was diverted to an object of a more private nature. The

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earl of Portland, who enjoyed the greatest share of the king's favour, had obtained a grant of fome lordships in Derbyshire. While the warrant was depending, the gentlemen of that county refolved to oppose it with all their power. In consequence of a petition, they were indulged with a hearing by the lords of the treasury. Sir William Williams, in the name of the rest, alledged, That the lordships in question were the ancient demesnes of the prince of Wales, absolutely unalienable: That the revenues of those lordships supported the government of Wales in paying the judges and other falaries: That the grant was of too large an extent for any foreign fubject: And, That the people of the country were too great to be subject to any foreigner. Sundry other substantial reasons were used against the grant, which, notwithstanding all their remonstrances, would have passed through the offices, had not the Welch gentlemen addressed themselves, by petition, to the house of commons. Upon this occasion Mr. Price, a member of the house, harangued with great severity against the Dutch in general; and did not even abstain from sarcasms upon the king's person, title, and government. The objections started by the petitioners being duly considered, were found fo reasonable, that the commons presented an address to the king, representing, That those manors had been usually annexed to the principality of Wales, and fettled on the princes of Wales for their support: That many persons in those parts held their estates by royal tenure, under great and valuable compositions, rents, royal payments, and fervices to the crown and princes of Wales; and enjoyed great privileges and advantages under fuch tenure. They, therefore, befought his majesty to recal the grant, which was in diminution of the honour and interest of the crown; and prayed, that the faid manors and lands might not be alienated without the confent of parliament. This address met with a cold reception from the king, who promifed to recal the grant which had given fuch offence to the commons; and faid he would find fome other way of showing his favour to the earl of Portland.

§ XXVI. The people in general entertained a national aversion to this nobleman: The malcontents inculcated a notion that he made use of his interest and intelligence to injure the trade of England, that the commerce of his own country might flourish without competition. To his fuggestions they imputed the act and patent in favour of the Scottish company, which was supposed to have been thrown in as a bone of contention between the two kingdoms. The fubject was first started in the house of lords, who invited the commons to a conference: A committee was appointed to examine into the particulars of the act for erecting the Scottish company; and the two houses presented a joint address against it, as a scheme that would prejudice all the subjects concerned in the wealth and trade of the English nation. They reprefented, That, in confequence of the exemption from taxes, and other advantages granted to the Scottish company, that kingdom would become a free port for all East and West India commodities: That the Scots would be enabled to supply all Europe at a cheaper rate than the English could afford to sell their merchandize for; therefore, England would lose the benefit of its foreign trade: Besides, they observed that the Scots would fmuggle their commodities into England, to the great detriment of his majesty and his customs. To this remonstrance the king replied, That he had been ill served in Scotland; but that he hoped some remedies would be found to prevent the inconveniences of which they were apprehensive. In all probability he had been imposed upon by the ministry of that kingdom; for, in a little time, he discarded the marquis of Tweedale, and dismissed both the Scottish secretaries of state; in lieu of whom he appointed lord Murray, fon to the marquis of Athol. Notwithstanding the king's answer, the committee proceeded on the enquiry; and in confequence of their report, confirming a petition from the East India company, the house resolved, That the directors of the Scottish company were guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor in administering and taking an oath de sideli in this kingdom; and that they should be impeached for

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the same. Meanwhile Roderick Mackenzie, from whom they had received their chief information, began to retract his evidence, and was ordered into custody: But he made his escape, and could not be retaken, although the king, at their request, issued a proclamation for that purpose. The Scots were extremely incensed against the king when they understood he had disowned their company, from which they had promised themselves such wealth and advantage. The settlement of Darien was already planned, and afterwards put in execution, though it miscarried in the sequel, and had like

to have produced abundance of mischief.

§ XXVII. The complaints of the English merchants who had fuffered by the war were fo loud at this juncture, that the commons resolved to take their case into confideration. The house resolved itself into a committee to consider the state of the nation with regard to commerce; and having duly weighed all circumstances, agreed to the following resolutions:-That a council of trade should be established by act of parliament, with powers to take measures for the more effectual preservation of commerce: That the commissioners should be n minated by parliament, but none of them have feats in the house: That they should take an oath, acknowledging the title of king William as rightful and lawful; and abjuring the pretentions of James, or any other person. The king confidered these resolutions as an open attack upon his prerogative, and fignified his displeasure to the earl of Sunderland, who patronized this measure: But it was fo popular in the house, that in all probability it would have been put in execution, had not the attention of the commons been diverted from it at this period by the detection of a new conspiracy. The friends of king James had, upon the death of queen Mary, renewed their practices for effecting a restoration of that monarch, on the supposition that the interest of William was confiderably weakened by the death of his confort. Certain individuals, whose zeal for James overshot their discretion, formed a defign to feize the person of king William, and convey him to France, or put him to

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death in case of resistance. They had fent emissaries to the court of St. Germain to demand a commission for this purpose; which was refused. The earl of Aylesbury, lord Montgomery, fon to the marquis of Powis, fir John Fenwick, fir John Friend, captain Charnock, captain Porter, and one Mr. Goodman, were the first contrivers of this project. Charnock was detached with a proposal to James, that he should procure a body of horse and foot from France, to make a descent in England; and that they would engage not only to join him at his landing, but even to replace him on the throne of England. These offers being declined by James, on pretence that the French king could not spare such a number of troops at that juncture, the earl of Aylesbury went over in person, and was admitted to a conference with Louis, in which the scheme of an invasiion was actually concerted. In the beginning of February the duke of Berwick repaired privately to England, where he conferred with the conspirators; assured them that king James was ready to make a descent with a considerable number of French forces, distributed commisfions, and gave directions for providing men, arms, and horses, to join him at his arrival. When he returned to France, he found every thing prepared for the expedition. The troops were drawn down to the sea-side; a great number of transports were affembled at Dunkirk; monfieur Gabaret had advanced as far as Calais with a squadron of ships, which, when joined by that of Du Bart, at Dunkirk, was judged a fusficient convov; and James had come as far as Calais in his way to embark. Meanwhile the Jacobites in England were affiduously employed in making preparations for a revolt. Sir John Friend had very nearly completed a regiment of horse. Confiderable progress was made in levying another by fir William Perkins. Sir John Fenwick had inlifted four troops. Colonel Tempest had undertaken for one regiment of dragoons: Colonel Parker was preferred to the command of another: Mr. Curzon was commissioned for a third: And the malcontents intended to raise a fourth DANGER OF THE AMERICAN THE PARTY OF THE PART

fourth in Suffolk, where their interest chiefly pre-

& XXVIII. While one part of the Jacobites proceeded against William in the usual way of exciting an infurrection, another, confishing of the most desperate conspirators, had formed a scheme of affassination. Sir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, who had ferved as an officer in the army of James, a man of undaunted courage, a furious bigot in the religion of Rome, vet close, circumspect, and determined, was landed, with other officers, in Romney-marsh, by one captain Gill, about the beginning of January, and is faid to have undertaken the task of seizing or affassinating king William. He imparted his defign to Harrison, alias Johnstone, a priest, Charnock, Porter, and sir William Perkins, by whom it was approved; and he pretended to have a particular commission for this service. After various confultations, they refolved to attack the king on his return from Richmond, where he commonly hunted on Saturdays; and the scene of their intended ambuscade was a lane between Brentford and Turnham-green. As it would be necessary to charge and disperse the guards that attended the coach, they agreed that their number should be increased to forty horsemen; and each conspirator began to engage proper persons for the enterprize. When their compliment was full, they determined to execute their purpose on the fifteenth day of February. They concerted the manner in which they should meet in small parties without suspicion, and waited with impatience for the hour of action. In this interval, fome of the underling actors, seized with horror at the reflection of what they had undertaken, or captivated with the prospect of reward, resolved to prevent the execution of the defign by a timely discovery. On the eleventh day of February one Fisher informed the earl of Portland of the scheme, and named some of the conspirators; but his account was imperfect. On the thirteenth, however, he returned with a circumstantial detail of all the particulars. Next day the earl was accosted by one Pendergrafs, an Irish officer, who told his lordship he had, X 3

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had just come from Hampshire, at the request of a particular friend, and understood that he had been called up to town with a view of engaging him in a delign to affaffinate king William. He faid, he had promised to embark in the undertaking, though he detested it in his own mind; and took this first opportunity of revealing the fecret, which was of fuch confequence to his majesty's life. He owned himself a Roman-catholic, but declared that he did not think any religion could justify fuch a treacherous purpose. At the same time he observed, that as he lay under obligations to some of the conspirators, his honour and gratitude would not permit him to accuse them by name; and that he would not, upon no confideration, appear as an evidence. The king had been fo much used to fictitious plots and false discoveries, that he paid little regard to these informations, until they were confirmed by the testimony of another conspirator called La Rue, a Frenchman, who communicated the fame particulars to brigadier Levison, without knowing the least circumstance of the other discoveries. Then the king believed there was fomething real in the conspiracy; and Pendergrass and La Rue were severally examined in his presence. He thanked Pendergrass in particular for this instance of his probity; but observed, that it must prove ineffectual, unless he would discover the names of the conspirators; for, without knowing who they were, he should not be able to secure his life against their attempts. At length Pendergrass was prevailed upon to give a lift of those he knew, yet not before the king had folemnly promifed that he should not be used as an evidence against them, except with his own confent. As the king did not go to Richmond on the day appointed, the conspirators postponed the execution of their defign till the Saturday following. They accordingly met at different houses on the Friday, when every man received his instructions. There they agreed, that after the perpetration of the parricide they should ride in a body as far as Hammersmith, and then disperfing, enter London by different avenues. But, on the morning, when they understood that the guard were returned turned to their quarters, and the king's coaches fent back to the Mews, they were seized with a sudden damp, on the supposition that their plot was discovered. Sir George Barclay withdrew himself; and every one began to think of providing for his own safety. Next night, however, a great number of them were apprehended, and then the whole discovery was communicated to the privy council. A proclamation was issued against those that absconded; and great diligence was used to find fir George Barclay, who was supposed to have a particular commission from James for affassinating the prince of Orange; but he made good his retreat, and it was never proved that any such commission had been

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& XXIX. This defign and the projected invafion proved equally abortive. James had fcarce reached Calais when the duke of Wirtemberg dispatched his aid-de-camp from Flanders to king William, with an account of the purposed descent. Expresses with the fame tidings arrived from the elector of Bavaria and the prince de Vaudemont. Two confiderable fquadrons being ready for fea, admiral Ruffel embarked at Spithead, and stood over to the French coast with above fifty fail of the line. The enemy were confounded at his appearance, and hauled in their vessels under the shore in such shallow water, that he could not follow and destroy them: But he absolutely ruined their design, by cooping them up in their harbours. King James, after having tarried some weeks at Calais, returned to St. Germain's. The forces were fent back to the garrifons from which they had been drafted: The people of France exclaimed, that the malignant star which ruled the defliny of James had blafted this, and every other project formed for his restoration. By means of the reward offered in the proclamation, the greater part of the conspirators were betrayed or taken. George Harris, who had been fent from France with orders to obey fir George Barclav, furrendered himself to fir William Trumball, and confessed the scheme of assassination in which he had been engaged. Porter and Pendergrafs

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were apprehended together. The last insisted upon the king's promise, that he should not be compelled to give evidence; but, when Porter owned himself guilty, the other observed, he was no longer bound to be silent, as his friend had made a confession; and they were both

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admitted as evidences for the crown.

§ XXX. After their examination, the king, in a speech to both houses, communicated the nature of the conspiracy against his life, as well as the advices he had received touching the invasion: He explained the steps he had taken to defeat the double defign, and professed his confidence in their readiness and zeal to concur with him in every thing that should appear neceffary for their common fafety. That fame evening the two houses waited upon him at Kenfington, in a body, with an affectionate address, by which they expressed their abhorrence of the villanous and barbarous defign which had been formed against his sacred person; of which they befought him to take more than ordinary care. They affured him they would to their utmost defend his life, and support his government against the late king James, and all other enemies; and declared, that, in case his majesty should come to a violent death, they would revenge it upon his adverfaries and their adherents. He was extremely well pleased with this warm address, and assured them, in his turn, he would take all opportunities of recommending himself to the continuance of their loyalty and affection. The commons forthwith empowered him, by bill, to secure all persons suspected of conspiring against his person and government. They brought in another, providing, that, in case of his majesty's death, the parliament then in being should continue until dissolved by the next heir in fuccession to the crown, established by act of parliament. That if his majesty should chance to die between two parliaments, that which had been last dissolved should immediately reassemble, and sit for the dispatch of national affairs. They voted an address, to defire that his majesty would banish, by proclamation, all papifts to the distance of ten miles from the cities

cities of London and Westminster; and give instructions to the judges going on the circuits, to put the laws in execution against Roman catholics and nonjurors. They drew up an affociation, binding themselves to affist each other in support of the king and his government, and to revenge any violence that should be committed on his person. This was figned by all the members then present; but, as some had absented themselves on frivolous pretences, the house ordered, that in fixteen days the absentees should either subscribe, or declare their refutal. Several members neglecting to comply with this injunction within the limited time, the speaker was ordered to write to those who were in the country, and demand a peremptory answer; and the clerk of the house attended such as pretended to be ill in town. fentees, finding themselves pressed in this thought proper to fail with the fiream, and fign the affociation, which was prefented to the king by the commons, in a body, with a request, that it might be lodged among the records in the Tower, as a perpetual memorial of their loyalty and affection. The king received them with uncommon complacency; declared, that he heartily entered into the fame affociation; that he should be always ready to venture his life with his good subjects, against all who should endeavour to subvert the religion, laws, and liberties of England; and he promised that this, and all other affociations, should be lodged among the records in the Tower of London. Next day the commons refolved, that whoever should affirm an affociation was illegal, should be deemed a promoter of the defigns of the late king James, and an enemy to the laws and liberties of the kingdom. lords followed the example of the lower house in drawing up an affociation; but the earl of Nottingham, fir Edward Seymour, and Mr. Finch, objected to the words rightful and lawful, as applied to his majesty. They faid, as the crown and its prerogatives were vested in him, they would yield obedience, though they could not acknowledge him as their rightful and lawful king. Nothing could be more abfurd than this distinction, ffarted

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started by men who had actually constituted part of the administration; unless they supposed that the right of king William expired with queen Mary. The earl of Rochester proposed an expedient in favour of such tender consciences, by altering the words that gave offence; and this was adopted accordingly. Fifteen of the peers, and ninety-two commoners, figned the affociation with reluctance. It was, however, fubscribed by all forts of people in different parts of the kingdom; and the bishops drew up a form for the clergy, which was figned by a great majority. The commons brought in a bill, declaring all men incapable of public truft, or of fitting in parliament, who would not engage in this affociation, At the same time, the council issued an order for renewing all the commissions in England, that those who had not figned it voluntarily should be dismissed from the fervice as disaffected persons.

§ XXXI. After these warm demonstrations of loyalty, the commons proceeded upon ways and means for raising the supplies. A new bank was constituted as a fund, upon which the fum of two millions five hundred and fixty-four thousand pounds should be raised; and it was called the Land-bank, because established on land securities. (1696.) This scheme, said to have been projected by the famous Dr. Chamberlain, was patronifed by the earl of Sunderland, and managed by Foley and Harley; fo that it feemed to be a Tory plan which Sunderland supported, in order to reconcile himself to that party. * The bank of England petitioned against this bill, and were heard by their counsel: But their representations produced no effect; and the bill having passed through both houses, received the royal affent. On the twenty-seventh day of April the king closed the fession with a short but gracious speech: and the parliament was prorogued to the fixteenth day of June.

§ XXXII. Before this period fome of the conspirators had been brought to trial. The first who suffer

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^{*} See note [S] at the end of the volume.

fered was Robert Charnock, one of the two fellows of Magdalen college, who, in the reign of James, had renounced the protestant religion: The next were lieutenant King and Thomas Keys; which last had been formerly a trumpeter; but of late fervant to captain Porter. They were found guilty of high treason, and executed at Tyburn. They delivered papers to the theriff, in which they folemnly declared, that they had never feen or heard of any commission from king James for affalfinating the prince of Orange. Charnock, in particular, observed, that he had received frequent asfurances of the king's having rejected fuch propofals when they had been offered; and that there was no other commission but that for levying war in the usual form. Sir John Friend and fir William Perkins were tried in April; the first, from mean beginnings, had acquired great wealth and credit, and always firmly adhered to the interests of king James. The other was likewise a man of fortune, violently attached to the same principles, though he had taken the oaths to the prefent government, as one of the fix clerks in chancery. Porter and Blair, another evidence, deposed, that sir John Friend had been concerned in levying men under a commission from king James; and that he knew of the affaffination plot, though not engaged in it as a perfonal actor. He endeavoured to invalidate the teltimony of Blair, by proving him guilty of the most shocking ingratitude. He observed, that both the evidences were reputed papists. The curate of Hackney, who officiated as chaplain in the prisoner's house, declared, upon oath, that after the revolution he used to pray for king William; and that he had often heard fir John Friend fay, that though he could not comply with the prefent government, he would live peaceably under it, and never engage in any confpiracy. Hoadly, father of the present bishop of Winchester, added, that the prisoner was a good protestant, and frequently expressed his detestation of king-killing principles. Friend himself owned he had been with some of the conspirators at a meeting in Leadenhall-street; but heard

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heard nothing of raising men, or any design against the government. He likewise affirmed, that a consultation to levy war was not treason; and that his being at a treasonable consult could amount to no more than a misprision of treason. Lord chief-justice Holt declared, that although a bare conspiracy, or design to levy war, was not treason within the statute of Edward III. yet if the defign or conspiracy be to kill, or depose, or imprison the king, by the means of levying war, then the confultation and conspiracy to levy war becomes high treafon, though no war be actually levied. The same inference might have been drawn against the authors and instruments of the revolution. The judge's explanation influenced the jury, who, after fome deliberation, found the prisoner guilty. Next day fir William Perkins was brought to the bar, and upon the testimony of Porter, Ewebank his own groom, and Haywood, a notorious informer, was convicted of having been concerned not only in the invafion, but also in the design against the king's life. The evidence was scanty; and the prisoner having being bred to the law, made an artful and vigorous defence: But the judge acted as counsel for the crown; and the jury decided by the hints they received from the bench. He and fir John Friend underwent the sentence of death, and suffered at Tyburn on the third day of April. Friend protested before God, that he knew of no immediate descent proposed by king James, and therefore had made no preparations: That he was utterly ignorant of the affaffination scheme: That he died in the communion of the church of England, and laid down his life cheerfully in the cause for which he suffered. Perkins declared, upon the word of a dying man, that the tenor of the king's commission, which he faw, was general, directed to all his loving fubjects, to raife and levy war against the prince of Orange and his adherents, and to seize all forts, castles, &c. but that he neither faw nor heard of any commission particularly levelled against the person of the prince of Orange. He owned, however, that he was privy to the defign; but believed it was known to few or none but the immediate under-

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These two criminals were in their last undertakers. moments attended by Collier, Snatt, and Cook, three nonjuring clergymen, who absolved them in the view of the populace, with an imposition of hands: A publie infult on the government, which did not pass unnoticed. Those three clergymen were presented by the grand jury, for having countenanced the treason, by absolving the traitors, and thereby encouraged other persons to disturb the peace of the kingdom. An indictment being preferred against them, Cook and Snatt were committed to Newgate; but Collier absconded, and published a vindication of their conduct, in which he affirmed, that the imposition of hands was the general practice of the primitive church. On the other hand, the two metropolitans and twelve other bishops subscribed a declaration, condemning the administration of absolution, without a previous confession made, and abhorrence expressed by the prisoners of the heinous crimes

for which they fuffered.

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In the course of the same month, Rookwood, Cranborne, and Lowick, were tried as conspirators, by a special commission, in the king's bench; and convicted on the joint testimony of Porter, Harris, La Rue, Bertram, Fisher, and Pendergrass. Some favourable circumstances appeared in the case of Lowick. The proof of his having been concerned in the defign against the king's life was very defective; many persons of reputation declared he was an honest, good-natured, inoffenfive man: And he himself concluded his defence with the most folemn protestation of his own innocence. Great intercession was made for his pardon by some noblemen; but all their interest proved inessectual. Cranborne died in a transport of indignation, leaving a paper which the government thought proper to suppress. Lowick and Rookwood likewife delivered declarations to the sheriff; the contents of which, as being less inflammatory, were allowed to be published. Both solemnly denied any knowledge of a commission from king James to affaffinate the prince of Orange; the one affirming, that he was incapable of granting such an order; and the

other afferting, that he, the best of kings, had often rejected proposals of that nature. Lowick owned that he would have joined the king at his landing: But declared, he had never been concerned in any bloody affair during the whole course of his life. On the contrary, he faid, he had endeavoured to prevent bloodshed as much as lay in his power: And that he would not kill the most miserable creature in the world, even though fuch an act would fave his life, restore his sovereign, and make him one of the greatest men in England. Rookwood alledged, he was engaged by his immediate commander, whom he thought it was his duty to obey, though the fervice was much against his judgment and inclination. He professed his abhorrence of treachery even to an enemy. He forgave all mankind, even the prince of Orange, who, as a foldier, he faid, ought to have confidered his case before he figned his deathwarrant. He prayed God would open his eyes, and render him fensible of the blood that was from all parts crying against him, so as he might avert a heavier execution than that which he now ordered to be inflicted. The next person brought to trial was Mr. Cooke, fon of fir Miles Cooke, one of the fix clerks in chancery. Porter and Goodman deposed, that he had been present at two meetings at the King's Head tavern, Leadenhallfreet, with the lords Aylesbury and Montgomery, fir William Perkins, fir John Fenwick, fir John Friend, Charnock, and Porter. The evidence of Goodman was invalidated by the testimony of the landlord and two drawers belonging to the tavern, who fwore that Good. man was not there while the noblemen were prefent, The prisoner himself solemnly protested that he was ever averse to the introduction of foreign forces: That he did not to much as hear of the intended invasion, until it became the common topic of conversation; and that he had never feen Go dman at the King's Head, He declared his intention of receiving the bleffed facrament, and wished he might perish in the instant, if he now spoke untruth. No respect was paid to these affeverations. The follicitor-general Hawles, and lord chief-

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thief-justice Treby, treated him with great severity in the profecution and charge to the jury, by whom he was capitally convicted. After his condemnation the courtagents tampered with him to make further discoveries; and after his fate had been protracted by divers short reprieves, he was fent into banishment. From the whole tenor of these discoveries and proceedings, it appears that James had actually meditated an invasion: That his partizans in England had made preparations for joining him on his arrival: That a few desperadoes of that faction had concerted a scheme against the life of king William: That in profecuting the conspirators, the court had countenanced informers: That the judges had strained the law, wrested circumstances, and even deviated from the function of their office, to convict the prisoners. In a word, That the administration had used the same arbitrary and unfair practices against those unhappy people, which they themselves had, in the late reigns, numbered

among the grievances of the kingdom.

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§ XXXIII. The warmth, however, manifested on this occasion may have been owing to national refentment of the purposed invasion. Certain it is, the two houses of parliament, and the people in general, were animated with extraordinary indignation against France at this juncture. The lords befought his majesty, in a folemn address, to appoint a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God, for having defeated the barbarous purpose of his enemies: And this was observed with uncommon zeal and devotion. Admiral Ruffel, leaving a fquadron for observation on the French coast, returned to the Downs: But fir Cloudefly Shovel, being properly prepared for the expedition, subjected Calais to another bombard ment, by which the town was fet on fire in different parts, and the inhabitants were overwhelmed with consternation. The generals of the allied army in Flanders resolved to make some immediate retaliation upon the French for their unmanly design upon the life of king William; as they took it for granted that Louis was accessary to the scheme of assallination. That monarch, on the supposition that a powerful diversion would be

made by the descent on England, had established a vast magazine at Givet, defigning, when the allies should be enfeebled by the absence of the British troops, to strike some stroke of importance early in the campaign. On this the confederates now determined to wreak their vengeance. In the beginning of March the earl of Athlone and monfieur de Coehorn, with the concurrence of the duke of Holstein-ploen, who commanded the allies, fent a strong detachment of horse, drafted from Brussels and the neighbouring garrifons, to amuse the enemy on the side of Charleroy; while they affembled forty fquadrons, thirty battalions, with fifteen pieces of cannon, and fix mortars, in the territory of Namur. Athlone with part of this body invested Dinant, while Coehorn, with the other, advanced to Givet. He forthwith began to batter and bombard the place, which in three hours was on fire, and by four in the afternoon was wholly destroyed, with the great magazine it contained. Then the two generals, joining their forces, returned to Namur without interruption. Hitherto the republic of Venice had deferred acknowledging king William: But now they fent an extraordinary embassy for that purpose, confisting of figniors Soranzo and Venier, who arrived in London; and on the first day of May had a public audience. The king, on this occasion, knighted Soranzo as the fenior ambaffador, and prefented him with the fword, according to custom. On that day, too, William declared in council, that he had appointed the fame regency which had governed the kingdom during his last absence; and embarking on the feventh at Margate, arrived at Orangepolder in the evening, under convoy of vice-admiral Aylmer. This officer had been ordered to attend with a squadron, as the famous Du Bart still continued at Dunkirk; and some attempt of importance was apprehended from his enterprifing genius *.

& XXXIV.

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Some promotions were made before the king left England. George Hamilton, third fon of the duke of that name, was, for his military services in Ireland and Flanders, created early

& XXXIV. The French had taken the field before the allied army could be affembled; but no transaction of consequence destinguished this campaign, either upon the Rhine or in Flanders. The scheme of Louis was still defensive on the side of the Netherlands, while the active plans of king William were defeated by want of money. All the funds for this year proved defective: The landbank failed, and the national-bank fullained a rude The lofs of the nation upon the shock in its credit. recoinage, amounted to two millions two hundred thoufand pounds; and though the different mints were employed without interruption, they could not, for fome months, supply the circulation; especially as great part of the new money was kept up by those who received it in payment, or disposed of it at an unreasonable advantage. The French king, having exhausted the wealth and patience of his fubjects, and greatly diminished their number in the course of this war, began to be diffident of his arms, and employed all the arts of private negociation. While his minister d'Avaux pressed the king of Sweden to offer his mediation, he fent Callieres to Holland, with propofals for fettling the preliminaries of He took it for granted, that as the Dutch a treaty. were a trading people, whose commerce had greatly suffered in the war, they could not be averfe to a pacification; and he instructed his emissaries to tamper with the malcontents of the republic, especially with the remains of the Louvestein faction, which had always opposed the schemes of the stadtholder. Callieres met with a favourable reception from the states, which began to treat with him about the preliminaries, though not without the confent and concurrence of king William and the rest of the allies. Louis, with a view to quicken the effect of this negociation, pursued offensive measures in Catalonia. where his general, the duke de Vendome, attacked and

of Orkney; fir John Lowther was ennobled by the title of baron Lowther, and viscount Lonsdale; fir John Thompson made baron of Haversham; and the celebrated John Locke appointed one of the commissioners of trade and plantations.

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worsted the Spaniards in their camp near Ostalrick, though the action was not decifive; for that general was obliged to retreat, after having made vigorous efforts against their entrenchments. On the twentieth day of June mareschal de Lorges passed the Rhine at Philipsburgh, and encamped within a league of Eppingen, where the Imperial troops were obliged to entrench themselves, under the command of the prince of Baden, as they were not yet joined by the auxiliary forces. The French general, after having faced him about a month, thought proper to repass the river. Then he detached a body of horse to Flanders, and cantoned the rest of his troops at Spires, Franckendahl, Worms, and Ostofen. On the last day of August the prince of Baden retaliated the infult, by paffing the Rhine at Metz and Cocsheim. On the tenth he was joined by general Thungen, who commanded a separate body, together with the militia of Swabia and Franconia, and advanced to the camp of the enemy, who had reaffembled: But they were posted in fuch a manner, that he would not hazard an attack. Having therefore cannonaded them for fome days, scoured the adjacent country by detached parties, and taken the little castle of Wiezengen, he repassed the river at Worms, on the feventh day of October: The French likewise croffed at Philipsburgh, in hopes of surprising general Thungen, who had taken post in the neighbourhood of Strasbourgh: But he retired to Eppingen before their arrival; and in a little time both armies were diffributed in winter quarters. Peter, the czar of Muscovy, carried on the fiege of Azoph with fuch vigour, that the garrison was obliged to capitulate, after the Russians had. defeated a great convoy fent to its relief. The court of Vienna forthwith engaged in an alliance with the Muscovite emperor: But they did not exert themselves in taking advantage of the difafter which the Turks had undergone. The Imperial army, commanded by the elector of Saxony, continued inactive on the river Marosch till the nineteenth day of July; then they made a feint of attacking Temiswaer; but they marched towards Betzkerch, in their route to Belgrade, on receiv-

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ing advice that the grand fignor intended to befiege Titul. On the twenty-first day of August the two armies were in fight of each other. The Turkish horse attacked the Imperialists in a plain near the river Begue; but were repulsed. The Germans next day made a show of retreating, in hopes of drawing the enemy from their The stratagem succeeded. On the entrenchments. twenty-fixth the Turkish army was in motion. A detachment of the Imperialists attacked them in flank as they marched through a wood. A very desperate action enfued; in which the generals Heusler and Poland, with many other gallant officers, loft their lives. At length, the Ottoman horse were routed: But the Germans were fo roughly handled, that on the fecond day after the en. gagement they retreated at midnight; and the Turks

remained quiet in their entrenchments. § XXXV. In Piedmont the face of affairs underwent a strange alteration. The duke of Savoy, who had for fome time been engaged in a fecret negociation with France, at length embraced the offers of that crown, and privately figned a separate treaty of peace at Loretto; to which place he repaired on a pretended pilgrimage. The French king engaged to prefent him with four millions of livres, by way of reparation for the damage he had fustained; to affist him with a certain number of auxiliaries against all his enemies; and to effect a marriage between the duke of Burgundy and the princes of Piedmont, as foon as the parties should be marriageable. The treaty was guaranteed by the pope and the Venetians, who were extremely defirous of feeing the Germans driven out of Italy. King William being apprifed of this negociation, communicated the intelligence to the earl of Galway, his ambaffador at Turin, who expostulated with the duke upon this defection: But he perfifted in denying any fuch correspondence, until the advance of the French army enabled him to avow it without fearing the refentment of the allies whom he had abandoned. Catinat marched into the plains of Turin, at the head of fifty thousand men; an army greatly superior to that of the confederates. Then the

duke imparted to the ministers of the allies the proposals which France had made; represented the superior strength of her army; the danger to which he was exposed; and, finally, his inclination to embrace her offers. On the twelfth of July a truce was concluded for a month, and afterwards prolonged till the fifteenth of September. He wrote to all the powers engaged in the confederacy, except king William, expatiating on the fame topics, and foliciting their confent. Though each in particular refused to concur, he, on the twenty-third day of August figned the treaty in public, which he had before concluded in private. The emperor was no sooner informed of his defign, than he took every step which he thought could divert him from his purpose. He sent the count Mansfeldt to Turin, with proposals for a match between the king of the Romans and the princess of Savoy, as well as with offers to augment his forces and his fubfidy: But the duke had already fettled his terms with France, from which he would not recede. Prince Eugene, though his kinsman, expressed great indignation at his conduct. The young prince de Commercy was fo provoked at his defection, that he challenged him to fingle combat; and the duke accepted of his challenge: But the quarrel was compromised by the intervention of friends; and they parted in an amicable manner. He had concealed the treaty until he should receive the remaining part of the subsidies due to him from the confederates. A confiderable fum had been remitted from England to Genoa for his use: But lord Galway no fooner received intimation of this new engagement, than he put a stop to the payment of this money, which he employed in the Milanese, for the sublistence of those troops that were in the British service. King William was encamped at Gemblours when the duke's envoy notified the separate peace which his master had concluded with the king of France. Though he was extremely chagrined at the information, he diffembled his anger, and liftened to the minister without the least emotion. One of the conditions of this treaty was, That within a limited time the allies should evacuate the duke's

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duke's dominions, otherwise they should be expelled by the joint forces of France and Savoy. A neutrality was offered to the confederates; and this being rejected, the contracting powers resolved to attack the Milanese. Accordingly, when the truce expired, the duke, as generalissimo of the French king, entered that duchy, and undertook the fiege of Valentia; fo that, in one campaign, he commanded two contending armies. garrison of Valentia, confisting of seven thousand men, Germans, Spaniards, and French protestants, made an obstinate defence; and the duke of Savoy prosecuted the fiege with uncommon impetuofity. But, after the trenches had been open for thirteen days, a courier arrived from Madrid, with an account of his catholic majesty's having agreed to the neutrality for Italy. This agreement imported, That there should be a suspension of arms until a general peace could be effected: And, That the Imperial and French troops should return to their respective countries. Christendom had well nigh been embroiled anew by the death of John Sobieski, king of Poland, who died at the age of seventy, in the course of this summer, after having survived his faculties and reputation. As the crown was elective, a competition arose for the succession. The kingdom was divided by factions; and the different powers of Europe interested themselves warmly in the contention.

§ XXXVI. Nothing of consequence had been lately atchieved by the naval force of England. When the conspiracy was first discovered, fir George Rooke had received orders to return from Cadiz; and he arrived in the latter end of April. While he took his place at the board of admiralty, lord Berkeley succeeded to the command of the sleet; and in the month of June set sail towards Ushant, in order to insult the coast of France. He pillaged and burned the villages on the islands Grouais, Houat, and Heydic; made prize of about twenty vessels; bombarded St. Martin's on the isle of Rhé, and the town of Olonne, which was set on fire in fifteen different places with the shells and carcasses. Though these ap-

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pear to have been enterprifes of small import, they cele tainly kept the whole coast of France in perpetual alarm. The ministry of that kingdom were so much afraid of invasion, that between Brest and Goulet they ordered above one hundred batteries to be erected; and above fixty thousand men were continually in arms, for the defence of the maritime places. In the month of May rear-admiral Benbow failed with a small squadron, in order to block up Du Bart in the harbour of Dunkirk: But that famous adventurer found means to escape in a fog; and steering to the eastward, attacked the Dutch fleet in the Baltic, under a convoy of five frigates, These last he took, together with half the number of the trading ships: But, falling in with the outward. bound fleet, convoyed by thirteen ships of the line, he was obliged to burn four of the frigates, turn the fifth adrift, and part with all his prizes except fifteen, which he carried into Dunkirk.

& XXXVII. The parliament of Scotland met on the eighth day of September: and lord Murray, secretary of state, now earl of Tullibardine, prefided as king's commillioner. Though that kingdom was exhausted by the war, and two fucceffive bad harvests, which had driven a great number of the inhabitants into Ireland, there was no opposition to the court measures. The members of parliament figned an affociation like that of England. They granted a supply of one-hundred-and-twenty thousand pounds for maintaining their forces by sea and land. They passed an act for securing their religion, lives, and properties, in case his majesty should come to an untimely death. By another, they obliged all perfons in public truft to fign the affociation; and then the parliament was adjourned to the eighth day of December. The disturbances of Ireland seemed now to be entirely appealed. Lord Capel dying in May, the council, by virtue of an act passed in the reign of Henry VIII. elected the chancellor, fir Charles Porter, to be lord justice and chief governor of that kingdom, until his majesty's pleasure should be known. The parliament met in June: The commons expelled Mr. Sanderson,

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the only member of that house who had refused to fign the association; and adjourned to the fourth day of August. By that time sir Charles Porter, and the earls of Montrath and Drogheda, were appointed lords justices, and signified the king's pleasure that they should adjourn. In the beginning of December the chancellor died of an

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& XXXVIII. King William, being tired of an in. active campaign, left the army under the command of the elector of Bavaria, and about the latter end of August repaired to his palace at Loo, where he enjoyed his favourite exercise of stag-hunting. He visited the court of Brandenburgh at Cleves; conferred with the states of Holland at the Hague; and embarking for England, landed at Margate on the fixth day of October. The domestic occonomy of the nation was extremely perplexed at this juncture, from the finking of public credit, and the stagnation that necessarily attended a recoinage. These grievances were with disficulty removed by the clear apprehension, the enterprising genius, the unshaken fortitude of Mr. Montagu, chancellor of the exchequer, operating upon a national spirit of adventure, which the monied-interest had produced. The king opened the session of parliament on the twentieth day of October, with a speech, importing, That overtures had been made for a negociation; but that the best way of treating with France would be fword in hand. He therefore defired they would be expeditious in raising supplies for the enfuing year, as well as for making good the funds already granted. He declared, that the civil lift could not be supported without their affistance. He recommended the milerable condition of the French protestants to their compassion. He desired they would contrive the best expedients for the recovery of the national credit. He observed, that unanimity and dispatch were now more than ever necessary for the honour, safety, and advantage of England. The commons having taken this speech into confideration, resolved, That they would support his majesty and his government, and assist him in the profecution of the war: That the standard of gold and filver

filver should not be altered: And, that they would make good all parliamentary funds. Then they prefented an address, in a very spirited strain, declaring, that notwithstanding the blood and treasure of which the nation had been drained, the commons of England would not be diverted from their firm resolutions of obtaining by war a fafe and honourable peace. They, therefore, renewed their affurances, that they would Support his majesty against all his enemics at home and abroad. The house of lords delivered another to the fame purpose, declaring, that they would never be wanting or backward, on their parts, in what might be necessary to his majesty's honour, the good of his kingdoms, and the quiet of Christendom. The commons, in the first transports of their zeal, ordered two seditions pamphlets to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. They deliberated upon the estimates, and granted above fix millions for the fervice of the enfuing year. They refolved, that a supply should be granted for making good the deficiency of parliamentary funds; and appropriated feveral duties for this purpofe.

. & XXXIX. With respect to the coin, they brought in a bill, repealing an act for taking off the obligation and encouragement of coining guineas for a certain time, and for importing and coining guineas and half guineas, as the extravagant price of those coins, which occasioned this act, was now fallen. They passed a second bill for remedying the ill state of the coin; and a third, explaining an act in the preceding fession, for laying duties on low wines and spirits of the first extraction. In order to raise the supplies of the year, they resolved to tax all persons according to the true value of their real and personal estates, their stock upon land and in trade, their income by offices, penfions, and professions. duty of one penny per week, for one year, was laid upon all persons not receiving alms. A further imposition of one farthing in the pound per week was fixed upon all fervants receiving four pounds per annum, as wages, and upwards, to eight pounds a year inclusive. Those who received from eight to fixteen pounds, were taxed

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taxed at one halfpenny per pound. An aid of three fillings in the pound for one year was laid upon all lands, tenements, and hereditaments, according to their true value. Without specifying the particulars of those impositions, we shall only observe, that in the general charge, the commons did not exempt one member of the commonwealth that could be supposed able to bear any part of the burthen. Provision was made, that hammered money should be received in payment of these duties, at the rate of five shillings and eight-pence per ounce. All the deficiencies on annuities, and monies borrowed on the credit of the exchequer, were transferred to this aid. The treasurer was enabled to borrow a million and a half, at eight per cent. and to circulate exchequer bills to the amount of as much more. To cancel these debts, the surplus of all the supplies, except the three shilling aid, was appropriated. commons voted one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds for making good the deficiency in recoining the hammered money, and the recompense for bringing in plate to the mint. This fum was raifed by a tax or duty upon wrought-plate, paper, pasteboard, vellum, and parchment, made or imported. Taking into confideration the fervices, and the prefent languishing state of the bank, whose notes were at twenty per cent. discount, they refolved, that it should be enlarged by new fubscriptions, made by four-fifths in tallies struck on parliamentary funds, and one-fifth in bank-bills or notes: That effectual provision should be made by parliament, for paying the principal of all fuch tallies as should be subscribed into the bank, out of the funds agreed to be continued: That an interest of eight pen cent. should be allowed on all such tallies: And, that the continuance of the bank should be prolonged to the first day of August, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ten: That all affignments of orders on tallies fubscribed into the bank, should be registered in the exchequer: That, before the day should be fixed for the beginning of the new fubscriptions, the old should be made one hundred per cent. and what might VOL. I exceed

exceed the value should be divided among the old members: That all the interest due on those tallies which might be subscribed into a bank-stock, at the time appointed for fubscriptions, to the end of the last preceding quarter on each tally, should be allowed as principal: That liberty should be given by parliament to enlarge the number of bank-bills, to the value of the fum that should be so subscribed, over and above the twelve hundred thousand pounds, provided they should be obliged to answer such bills and demands; and in default thereof, be answered by the exchequer, out of the first money due to them: That no other bank should be erected or allowed by act of parliament, during the continuance of the bank of England: That this should be exempted from all tax or imposition: That no act of the corporation should forfeit the particular interest of any person concerned therein: That provision should be made to prevent the officers of the exchequer, and all other officers and receivers of the revenue, from diverting, delaying, or obstructing the course of payments to the bank: That care should be taken to prevent the altering, counterfeiting, or forging any bank-bills or notes: That the estate and interest of each member in the stock of the corporation should be made a personal estate: That no contract made for any bank-stock to be bought or fold, should be valid in law or equity, unless actually registered in the bankbooks within feven days, and actually transferred within fourteen days after the contract should be made. A bill upon those resolutions was brought in, under the direction of the chancellor of the exchequer: It related to the continuation of tonnage and poundage upon wine, vinegar, and tobacco; and comprehended a clause for laying an additional duty upon falt, for two years and three-quarters. All the feveral branches constituted a general fund, fince known by the name of the General Mortgage, without prejudice to their former appropriations. The bill also provided, that the tallies should bear eight per cent. interest: That from the tenth of June, for five years, they should bear no more than

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fix per cent. interest: And, that no premium or discount upon them should be taken. In case of the general fund's proving insufficient to pay the whole interest, it was provided, that every proprietor should receive his proportion of the product, and the deficiency be made good from the next aid: but should the fund produce more than the interest, the furplus was destined to operate as a finking fund for the discharge of the principal. In order to make up a deficiency of above eight hundred thousand pounds, occasioned by the failure of the landbank, additional duties were laid upon leather: the time was enlarged for perfons to come in and purchase the annuities payable by feveral former acts, and to obtain more certain interest in such annuities.

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§ XL. Never were more vigorous measures taken to support the credit of the government; and never was the government ferved by fuch a fet of enterprifing undertakers. The commons having received a meffage from the king, touching the condition of the civil lift, resolved, that a sum, not exceeding five hundred and fifteen thousand pounds, should be granted for the support of the civil lift for the enfuing year, to be raifed by a malt tax, and additional duties upon mum, fweets, cyder, and perry. They likewife refolved, that an additional aid of one shilling in the pound should be laid upon land, as an equivalent for the duty of ten per cent. upon mixed goods. Provision was made for raising one million four hundred thousand pounds by a lottery. The treasurer was empowered to iffue an additional number of exchequer bills, to the amount of twelve hundred thousand pounds; every hundred pounds bearing interest at the rate of five-pence a day, and ten per cent. for circulation: Finally, In order to liquidate the transport debt, which the funds established for that purpose had not been sufficient to defray, a money-bill was brought in, to oblige pedlars and hawkers to take out licences, and pay for them at certain stated prices. One cannot without astonishment reflect upon the prodigious efforts that were made upon this occasion, or consider without indignation the enormous fortunes that were raifed up by usurers

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and extortioners from the distresses of their country. The nation did not seem to know its own strength until it was put to this extraordinary trial; and the experiment of mortgaging funds succeeded so well, that later ministers have proceeded in the same system, imposing burthen upon burthen, as if they thought the sinews of the nation could never be overstrained.

& XLI. The public credit being thus bolftered up by the fingular address of Mr. Montagu, and the bills passed for the supplies of the ensuing year, the attention of the commons was transferred to the case of sir John Fenwick, who had been apprehended in the month of June at New Romney, in his way to France. He had, when taken, written a letter to his lady by one Webber, who accompanied him; but this man being feized, the letter was found, containing such a confession as plainly evinced him guilty. He then entered into a treaty with the court for turning evidence, and delivered a long information in writing, which was fent abroad to his majefty. He made no discoveries that could injure any of the Jacobites, who, by his account, and other concurring testimonies, appeared to be divided into two parties, known by the names of Compounders and Noncompounders. The first, headed by the earl of Middleton, infifted upon receiving fecurity from king James, that the religion and liberties of England should be preserved: whereas, the other party, at the head of which was the earl of Melford, refolved to bring him in without conditions, relying upon his own honour and generofity. King William having fent over an order for bringing Fenwick to trial, unless he should make more material discoveries, the prisoner, with a view to amuse the ministry, until he could take other measures for his own fafety, accused the earls of Shrewsbury, Marlhorough, and Bath, the lord Godolphin, and admiral Ruffel, of having made their peace with king James, and engaged to act for his interest. Meanwhile his lady and relations tampered with the two witnesses, Porter and Goodman. The first of these discovered those practices to the government; and one Clancey, who acted as agent for

lady Fenwick, was tried, convicted of subornation, fined intry. and fet in the pillory: but they had fucceeded better in untheir attempts upon Goodman, who disappeared; so e exthat one witness only remained, and Fenwick began to that think his life was out of danger. Admiral Ruffel acimquainted the house of commons, that he and several t the persons of quality had been reflected upon in some ind up formations of fir John Fenwick: he therefore defired. that he might have an opportunity to justify his own bills character. Mr. Secretary Trumball produced the paention John pers; which, having been read, the commons ordered. th of that fir John Fenwick should be brought to the bar of the house. There he was exhorted by the speaker to had, bber, make an ample discovery; which, however, he declined. l, the except with the proviso that he should first receive some lainly fecurity that what he might fay should not prejudice himself. He was ordered to withdraw, until they should with g inhave deliberated on his request. Then he was called in again; and the speaker told him, he might deserve the s mafavour of the house, by making a full discovery. He nv of defired he might be indulged with a little time to recolarring arties, lect himself, and promised to obey the command of the comhouse. This favour being denied, he again infifted leton, upon having fecurity; which they refufing to grant, he chose to be silent, and was dismissed from the bar. , that erved: The house voted, that his informations, reflecting upon as the the fidelity of feveral noblemen, members of the house. and others, upon hearfay, were falle and fcandalous. t conrofity. contrived to undermine the government, and create jeanging lousies between the king and his subjects, in order to aterial stifle the conspiracy. fe the & XLII. A motion being made, for leave to bring s own

§ XLII. A motion being made, for leave to bring in a bill to attaint him of high treason, a warm debate ensued, and the question being put, was carried in the affirmative by a great majority. He was furnished with a copy of the bill, and allowed the use of pen, ink, paper, and counsel. When he presented a perition, praying that his counsel might be heard against passing the bill, they made an order, that his counsel should be allowed to make his defence at the bar of the house:

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fo that he was surprized into an irregular trial, instead of being indulged with an opportunity of offering objections to their paffing the bill of attainder. He was accordingly brought to the bar of the house; and the bill being read in his hearing, the speaker called upon the king's counsel to open the evidence. The prisoner's counsel objected to their proceeding to trial, alledging, that their client had not received the least notice of their purpose, and therefore could not be prepared for his defence; but that they came to offer their reasons against the bill. The house, after a long debate, resolved, that he should be allowed further time to produce witnesses in his defence; that the counsel for the king should likewise be allowed to produce evidence to prove the treasons of which he stood indicted; and an order was made for his being brought to the bar again in three days. In pursuance of this order, he appeared, when the indictment which had been found against him by the grand jury was produced; and Porter was examined as evidence. Then the record of Clancey's conviction was read: and one Roe testified, that Dighton, the prifoner's folicitor, had offered him an annuity of one hundred pounds to discredit the testimony of Goodman. The king's counsel moved, that Goodman's examination, as taken by Mr. Vernon, clerk of the council, might be read. Sir J. Powis and Sir Bartholomew Shower, the prisoner's counsel, warmly opposed this propofal; they affirmed, that a deposition taken when the party affected by it was not prefent to cross-examine the depoler, could not be admitted in a case of five shillings value: That though the house was not bound by the rules of inferior courts, it was nevertheless bound by the eternal and unalterable rules of justice: that no evidence, according to the rules of law, could be admitted in fuch a case, but that of living witnesses; and that the examination of a person who is absent was never read to supply his testimony. The dispute between the lawyers on this subject gave rife to a very violent debate among the members of the house. Sir Edward Seymour, sir Richard Temple, Mr. Harley, Mr. Harcourt, Mr.

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WILLIAM. Mr. Manley, fir Christopher Musgrave, and all the leaders of the Tory-party, argued against the hardship and injustice of admitting this information as an evidence. They demonstrated, that it would be a step contrary to the practice of all courts of judicature, repugnant to the common notions of justice and humanity, diametrically opposite to the last act for regulating trials in cases of high treason, and of dangerous consequences to the lives and liberties of the people. On the other hand, lord Cutts, fir Thomas Lyttelton, Mr. Montague, Mr. Smith of the Treasury, and Trevor, the attorney-general, affirmed, that the house was not bound by any form of law whatfoever: That this was an extraordinary case, in which the safety of the government was deeply concerned: that though the common law might require two evidences in cases of treason, the house had a power of deviating from those rules in extraordinary cases; that there was no reason to doubt of fir John Fenwick's being concerned in the conspiracy: That he, or his friends, had tampered with Porter; and that there were strong presumptions to believe the same practices had induced Goodman to abscond. In a word, the Tories, either from party or patriotism, strenuously afferted the cause of liberty and humanity, by those very arguments which had been used against them in the former reigns; while the Whigs, with equal violence and more fuccefs, efpoused the dictates of arbitrary power and oppression, in the face of their former principles, with which they were now upbraided. At length, the question was put, Whether or not the information of Goodman should be read? and was carried in the affirmative by a majority of seventy-three voices. Then two of the grand jury who had found the indictment, recited the evidence which had been given to them by Porter and Goodman: Laftly, The king's counsel infifted upon producing the record of Cooke's conviction, as he had been tried for the fame conspiracy. The prisoner's counsel objected that, if such evidence was admitted, the trial of one person in the same company would be the trial of all; and it could not be expected that they who came to de-

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fend fir John Fenwick only, should be prepared to anfiver the charge against Cooke. This article produced another vehement debate among the members; and the Whigs obtained the fecond victory. The record was read, and the king's counsel proceeded to call on some of the jury who ferved on Cooke's trial, to affirm that he had been convicted on Goodman's evidence. Sir Bartholomew Shower faid, he would fubmit it to the confideration of the house, Whether it was just that the evidence against one person should conclude against another standing at a different bar, in defence of his life? The parties were again ordered to withdraw; and from this point arose a third debate, which ended, as the two former, to the disadvantage of the prisoner. The jury being examined, Mr. ferjeant Gould moved, That Mr. Vernon might be defired to produce the intercepted letter from fir John Fenwick to his lady. The prisoner's counsel warmly opposed this motion, infisting upon their proving it to be his hand-writing before it could be used against him; and no further stress was laid on this evidence. When they were called upon to enter on his defence, they pleaded incapacity to deliver matters of fuch importance, after they had been fatigued with twelve hours attendance.

& XLIII. The house resolved to hear such evidence as the prisoner had to produce that night. His counsel declared, that they had nothing then to produce but the copy of the record; and the second resolution was, that he should be brought up again next day at noon. He accordingly appeared at the bar, and fir J. Powis proceeded on his defence. He observed, that the bill under confideration affected the lives of the subject; and such precedents were dangerous: That fir John Fenwick was forthcoming, in order to be tried by the ordinary methods of justice: That he was actually under process, had pleaded, and was ready to stand trial: That if there was fufficient clear evidence against him, as the king's ferjeant had declared, there was no reason for his being deprived of the benefit of fuch a trial as was the birthright of every British subject; and if there was a deficiency

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ciency of legal evidence, he thought this was a very odd reason for the bill. He took notice that even the regicides had the benefit of fuch a trial: That the last act for regulating trials in cases of treason, proved the great tenderness of the laws which affected the life of the subject: And he expressed his surprise that the very parliament which had passed that law, should enact another for putting a person to death without any trial at all. He admitted that there had been many bills of attainder, but they were generally levelled at outlaws and fugitives; and some of them had been reversed in the sequel, as arbitrary and unjust. He urged, that this bill of attainder did not alledge or fay that fir John Fenwick was guilty of the treason for which he had been indicted: A circumflance which prevented him from producing witnesses to that and feveral matters upon which the king's counsel had expatiated. He faid, They had introduced evidence to prove circumstances not alledged in the bill, and defective evidence of those that were: That Porter was not examined upon oath: That nothing could be more fevere than to pass sentence of death upon a man, corrupt his blood, and confiscate his estate, upon parole evidence; especially of such a wretch, who, by his own confession, had been engaged in a crime of the blackest nature; not a convert to the dictates of conscience, but a coward, shrinking from the danger by which he had been environed, and even now drudging for a pardon. He invalidated the evidence of Goodman's examination. He observed that the indictment mentioned a conspiracy to call in a foreign power; but, as the conspiracy had not been put in practice, such an agreement was not a fufficient overt act of treason, according to the opinion of Hawles, the folicitor-general, concerned in this very profecution. So faying, he produced a book of remarks, which that lawyer had published on the cases of lord Russel, colonel Sidney, and others, who had suffered death in the reign of Charles II. This author (faid he) takes notice, that a conspiracy or agreement to levy war, is not treason without actually levying war: A sentiment in which he concurred with lord Coke, and lord chiefjustice .

justice Hales. He concluded with faying, "We know at prefent on what ground we ftand; by the statute of "Edward III. we know what treason is; by the two " flatutes of Edward VI. and the late act, we know what is proof; by magna charta we know we are to " be tried per legem terræ & per judicium parium, by " the law of the land and the judgment of our peers; but, if bills of attainder come into fashion, we shall " neither know what is treason, what is evidence, nor . " how nor where we are to be tried." He was feconded by fir Bartholomew Shower, who fpoke with equal energy and elocution; and their arguments were anfwered by the king's counsel. The arguments in favour of the bill imported, That the parliament would not interpose, except in extraordinary cases: That here the evidence necessary in inferior courts being defective, the parliament, which was not tied down by legal evidence, had a right to exert their extraordinary power in punithing an offender, who would otherwife escape with impunity: That, as the law stood, he was but a forry politician that could not ruin the government, and yet elude the statute of treason: That if a plct, after being discovered, should not be thoroughly prosecuted, it would ftrengthen and grow upon the administration, and probably at length subvert the government: That it was notorious that parties were forming for king James; persons were plotting in every part of the kingdom, and an open invasion was threatened; therefore, this was a proper time for the parliament to exert their extraordinary power: That the English differed from all other nations, in bringing the witnesses and the prisoner face to face, and requiring two witnesses in cases of treason: Nor did the English law itself require the same proof in fome cases as in others; for one witness was sufficient in felony as well as for the treason of coining: That Fenwick was notoriously guilty, and deserved to feel the refentment of the nation: That he would have been brought to exemplary punishment in the ordinary course of justice, had he not eluded it by corrupting evidence, and withdrawing a witness. If this reasoning be just,

the house of commons has a right to act in diametrical opposition to the laws in being; and is vested with a despotic power over the lives and fortunes of their constituents, for whose protection they are constituted. Let us, therefore, reslect upon the possibility of a parliament debauched by the arts of corruption into servile compliance with the designs of an arbitrary prince, and tremble for the consequence. The debate being finished, the prisoner was, at the desire of admiral Russel, questioned with regard to the imputations he had fixed upon that gentleman and others, from hearsay: But he desired to be excused on account of the risque he ran while under a double prosecution, if any thing which should escape him

might be turned to his prejudice.

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& XLIV. After he was removed from the bar, Mr. Vernon, at the defire of the house, recapitulated the arts and practices of fir John Fenwick and his friends to procrastinate the trial. The bill was read a second time; and the speaker asking, If the question should be put for its being committed? the house was immediately kindled into a new flame of contention. Hawles, the folicitorgeneral, affirmed, that the house, in the present case, thould act both as judge and jury. Mr. Harcourt faid, he knew no trial for treason but what was confirmed by magna charta, by a jury, the birthright and darling privilege of an Englishman, or per legem terræ, which includes impeachments in parliament: That it was a ftrange trial where the person accused had a chance to be hanged, but none to be faved: That he never heard of a juryman who was not on his oath, nor of a judge who had not power to examine witnesses upon oath, and who was not empowered to fave the innocent as well as to condemn the guilty. Sir Thomas Lyttleton was of opinion, that the parliament ought not to stand upon little niceties and forms of other courts, when the government was at stake. Mr. Howe afferted, that to do a thing of this nature, because the parliament had power to do it, was a strange way of reasoning: That what was justice and equity at Westminster-hall, was justice and equity everywhere: That one bad precedent in parliament

liament was of worse consequence than an hundred in Westminster-hall, because personal or private injuries did not foreclose the claims of original right; whereas the parliament could ruin the nation beyond redemption. because it could establish tyranny by law. Sir Richard Temple, in arguing against the bill, observed, that the power of parliament is to make any law; but the jurifdiction of parliament is to govern itself by the law: To make a law, therefore, against all the laws of England. was the ultimum remedium & pessimum, never to be used but in case of absolute necessity. He affirmed, that by this precedent the house overthrew all the laws of England; first, in condemning a man by one witness; fes condly, in patting an act without any trial. The commons never did nor can assume a jurisdiction of trying any person: They may, for their own information, hear what can be offered; but it is not a trial where witnesses are not upon oath. All bills of attainder have paffed against persons that were dead or fled, or without the compass of the law: Some have been brought in after trials in Westminster-hall; but none of those have been called trials; and they were generally reversed. He denied that the parliament had power to declare any thing treason which was not treason before. When inferior courts were dubious, the case might be brought before the parliament, to judge whether it was treason or felony; but then they must judge by the laws in being; and this judgment was not in the parliament by bill, but only in the house of lords. Lord Digby, Mr. Harley, and colonel Granville, fpoke to the same purpose. But their arguments and remonstrances had no effect upon the majority, by whom the prisoner was devoted to destruction. The bill was committed, passed, and fent up to the house of lords, where it produced the longest and warmest debates which had been known fince the restoration. Bishop Burnet fignalized his zeal for the government by a long speech in favour of the bill, contradicting some of the fundamental maxims which he had formerly avowed in behalf of the liberties of the people. At length it was carried by a majority of feven Indust

seven voices: And one aud-forty lords, including eight prelates, entered a protest, couched in the strongest

terms, against the decision.

& XLV. When the bill received the royal affent, another act of the like nature passed against Barclay, Holmes, and nine other conspirators who had fled from justice, in case they should not surrender themselves on or before the twenty-fifth day of March next enfuing. Sir John Fenwick folicited the mediation of the lords in his behalf, while his friends implored the royal mercy. The peers gave him to understand, that the success of his fuit would depend upon the fulness of his discoveries. He would have previously stipulated for a pardon; and they infifted upon his depending on their favour. He hefitated fome time between the fears of infamy and the terrors of death; which last he at length chose to undergo, rather than incur the difgraceful character of an informer. He was complimented with the axe, in confideration of his rank and alliance with the house of Howard, and suffered on Tower-hill with great composure. In the paper which he delivered to the sheriff, he took God to wirnels, that he knew not of the intended invalion until it was the common subject of discourse; nor was he engaged in any shape for the service of king James. He thanked those noble and worthy persons who had opposed his attainder in parliament; protested before God, that the information he gave to the ministry he had received in letters and messages from France; and observed, that he might have expected mercy from the prince of Orange, as he had been instrumental in faving his life, by preventing the execution of a defign which had been formed against it: A circumstance which, in all probai bility, induced the late conspirators to conceal their purpose of affatfination from his knowledge. He professed his loyalty to king James, and prayed Heaven for his speedy restoration.

(1697.) § XLVI. While Fenwick's affair was in agitation, the earl of Monmouth had fet on foot some practices against the duke of Shrewsbury. One Matthew Smith, nephew to sir William Perkins, had been enter-

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tained as a fpy by this nobleman, who, finding his intelligence of very little use or importance, dismissed him as a troublesome dependent. Then he had recourse to the earl of Monmouth, into whom he infused unfavourable fentiments of the duke; infinuating, that he had made great discoveries, which, from finister motives, were suppressed. Monmouth communicated those impressions to the earl of Portland, who inlisted Smith as one of his intelligencers. Copies of the letters he had fent to the duke of Shrewsbury were delivered to secretary Trumball, sealed up for the perusal of his majesty at his return from Flanders. When Fenwick mentioned the duke of Shrewsbury in his discoveries, the earl of Monmouth resolved to seize the opportunity of ruining that nobleman. He, by the channel of the duchels of Norfolk, exhorted lady Fenwick to prevail upon her husband to perfist in his accusation, and even dictated a paper of directions. Fenwick rejected the proposal with difdain, as a scandalous contrivance; and Monmouth was to incented at his refutal, that when the bill of attainder appeared in the house of lords, he spoke in favour of it with peculiar vehemence. Lady Fenwick, provoked at this cruel outrage, prevailed upon her nephew, the earl of Carlifle, to move the house that fir John might be examined touching any advices that had been fent to him with relation to his discoveries. wick being interrogated accordingly, gave an account of all the particulars of Monmouth's scheme, which was calculated to ruin the duke of Shrewsbury, by bringing Smith's letters on the carpet. The duchess of Norfolk and a confidant were examined, and confirmed the detection. The house called for Smith's letters; which were produced by fir William Trumball. The earl of Monmouth was committed to the Tower, and difmissed from all his employments. He was released, however, at the end of the fession; and the court made up all his losses in private, lest he should be tempted to join the opposition.

§ XLVII. The Whigs, before they were glutted with the facrifice of Fenwick, had determined to let loofe their

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their vengeance upon fir George Rooke, who was a leader in the opposite interest. Sir Cloudesley Shovel had been fent with a fquadron to look into Brest, where, according to the intelligence which the government had received, the French were employed in preparing for a descent upon England; but this information was false. They were buly in equipping an armament for the West Indies, under the command of M. Pointis, who actually failed to the coast of New Spain, and took the city of Carthagena. Rooke had been ordered to intercept the Toulon squadron in its way to Brest; but his endeavours miscarried. The commons, in a committee of the whole house, resolved to enquire why this fleet was not intercepted: Rooke underwent a long examination, and was obliged to produce his journal, orders, and letters. Shovel and Mitchel were likewise examined; but nothing appearing to the prejudice of the admiral, the house thought proper to desist from their prosecution. After they had determined on the fate of Fenwick, they proceeded to enact feveral laws for regulating the domestic occonomy of the nation; among others, they pailed an act for the more effectual relief of creditors, in cases of escape, and for preventing abuses in prisons and pretended privileged places. Ever fince the reformation, certain places in and about the city of London, which had been fanctuaries during the prevalence of the popish religion, afforded afylum to debtors; and were become receptacles of desperate persons, who presumed to set the law at defiance. One of these places, called Whitefriars, was filled with a crew of ruffians, who every day committed acts of violence and outrage: But this law was fo vigorously put in execution, that they were obliged to abandon the district, which was soon filled with more creditable inhabitants. On the fixteenth day of April the king closed the session with a short speech, thanking the parliament for the great supplies they had so cheerfully granted, and expressing his fatisfaction at the measures they had taken for retrieving the public credit. Before he quitted the kingdom he ventured to produce upon the scene the earl of Sunderland, who had hitherto

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hitherto prompted his councils behind the curtain. That politician was now fworn of the privy-council, and gratified with the office of lord chamberlain, which had been refigned by the earl of Dorfet: A nobleman of elegant talents and invincible indolence; fevere and poignant in his writings and remarks upon mankind in general, but humane, good-natured, and generous to excess,

in his commerce with individuals.

& XLVIII. William having made fome promotions *. and appointed a regency, embarked on the twenty-fixth day of April for Holland, that he might be at hand to manage the negociation for a general peace. By this time the preliminaries were fettled between Callieres the French minister, and Mr. Dykveldt in behalf of the Sates-General; who refolved, in confequence of the concessions made by France, that, in concert with their allies, the mediation of Sweden might be accepted, The emperor and the court of Spain, however, were not fatisfied with those concessions: Yet, his Imperial majefty declared he would embrace the proffered mediation, provided the treaty of Westphalia should be reestablished; and provided the king of Sweden would engage to join his troops with those of the allies in case France should break through this stipulation. This propofal being delivered, the ministers of England and Holland at Vienna prefented a joint memorial, preffing his Imperial majesty to accept the mediation without referve, and name a place at which the congress might be opened. The emperor complied with reluctance. On the fourteenth day of February all the ministers of the allies, except the ambaffador of Spain, agreed to the proposal; and next day fignified their affent in form to

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Somers was created a baron, and appointed lord chancellor of England; admiral Ruffel was dignified with the title of earl of Orford. In February the earl of Ayletbury, who had been committed on account of the conspiracy, was releafed upon bail; but this privilege was denied to lord Montgomery, who had been imprisoned in Newgate on the same account, the Read the carl of Sunderland, who had

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M. Lillienroot, the Swedish plenipotentiary. Spain demanded, as a preliminary, that France should agree to restore all the places mentioned in a long lift, which the minister of that crown presented to the assembly. The emperor proposed that the congress should be held at Aix-la-Chapelle, or Franckfort, or some other town in Germany. The other allies were more disposed to negociate in Holland. At length the French king fuggested, that no place would be more proper than a palace belonging to king William, called Newbourg-house, fituated between the Hague and Delft, close by the village of Ryswick; and to this proposition the ministers agreed. Those of England were the earl of Pembroke, a virtuous, learned, and popular nobleman, the lord Villiers, and fir Joseph Williamson: France sent Harley and Crecy to the affiftance of Calliers. Louis was not only tired of the war, on account of the mifery in which it had involved his kingdom; but in defiring a peace he was actuated by another motive. The king of Spain had been for some time in a very ill state of health, and the French monarch had an eve to the fuccession. This aim could not be accomplished while the confederacy subfifted; therefore he eagerly sought a peace, that he might at once turn his whole power against Spain as foon as Charles should expire. The emperor harboured the same delign upon the Spanish crown, and for that reason interested himself in the continuance of the grand alliance. Besides, he foresaw he should, in a little time, be able to act against France with an augmented force. The czar of Muscovy had engaged to find employment for the Turks and Tartars. He intended to raile the elector of Saxony to the throne of Poland; and he had made some progress in a negociation with the circles of the Rhine, for a confiderable body of auxiliary troops. The Dutch had no other view but that of fecuring a barrier in the Netherlands. King William infifted upon the French king's acknowledging his title; and the English nation wished for nothing so much as the end of a ruinous war. On the tenth day of February Callieres, in the name of his master, agreed to the following prelimi-

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naries:-That the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen should be the basis of this negociation: That Strasbourg should be restored to the empire, and Luxembourgh to the Spaniards, together with Mons, Charleroy, and all places taken by the French in Catalonia fince the treaty of Nimeguen: That Dinant should be ceded to the bishop of Leige, and all reunions fince the treaty of Nime. guen be made void: That the French king should make restitution of Lorraine: And, upon conclusion of the peace, acknowledge the prince of Orange as king of Great Britain, without condition or referve. The conferences were interrupted by the death of Charles XI. king of Sweden, who was succeeded by his son Charles, then a minor: But the queen and five fenators, whom the late king had by will appointed administrators of the government, refolved to purfue the mediation, and fent a new commission to Lillienroot for that purpose. The ceremonials being regulated with the confent of all parties, the plenipotentiaries of the emperor delivered their master's demands to the mediator on the twenty-second day of May, and several German ministers gave in the pretentions of the respective princes whom they reprefented.

& XLIX. Meanwhile the French king, in the hope of procuring more favourable terms, refolved to make his last effort against the Spaniards in Catalonia and in the Netherlands, and to elevate the prince of Conti to the throne of Poland: An event which would have greatly improved the interest of France in Europe. Louis had got the flart of the confederates in Flanders, and fent thither a very numerous army, commanded by Carinat, Villeroy, and Boufflers. The campaign was opened with the fiege of Aeth; which was no fooner invested, than king William, having recovered of an indisposition, took the field, and had an interview with the duke of Bavaria, who commanded a separate body. He did not think proper to interrupt the enemy in their operations before Aeth, which surrendered in a few days after the trenches were opened; but contented himself with taking possession of an advantageous camp, where he covered Bruffels, · PRINCES!

to beliege. In Catalonia, the duke of Vendome invested oourg Barcelona, in which there was a garrison of ten thousand gh to regular foldiers, befides five thousand burghers, who nd all had voluntarily taken arms on this occasion. The goreaty ne bivernor of the place was the prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, who had ferved in Ireland, and been vested with the limecommand of the Imperial troops which were fent into make Spain. The French general being reinforced from Prof the ng of vence and Languedoc, carried on his approaches with furprising impetuosity; and was repulsed in several attacks by the valour of the defendants. At length the XI. enemy surprised and routed the viceroy of Catalonia; and, arles. flushed with this victory, stormed the out-works, which vhom f the had been long battered with their cannon. The dispute d fent was very bloody and obstinate; but the French, by dint The of numbers, made themselves masters of the covered way and two bastions. There they erected batteries of canpartheir non and mortars, and fired furiously on the town, which, however, the prince of Hesse resolved to defend to the econd n the last extremity. The court of Madrid, however, uneprewilling to fee the place entirely ruined, as in all probability it would be restored at the peace, dispatched an order to the prince to capitulate; and he obtained very hope honourable terms, after having made a glorious defence make for nine weeks; in confideration of which, he was apand in pointed viceroy of the province. France was no fooner nti to in possession of this important place, than the Spaniards reatly became as eager for peace as they had been before averfe is had d fent

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to a negociation. & L. Their impatience was not a little inflamed by the success of Pointis in America, where he took Carthagena; in which he found booty amounting to eight millions of crowns. Having ruined the fortifications of the place, and received advice that an English iquadron under admiral Nevil had arrived in the West Indies, with a defign to attack him in his return, he bore away for the Straits of Bahama. On the twenty-fecond day of May he fell in with the English fleet; and one of his fly-boats was taken; but fuch was his dexterity, or

good

good fortune, that he escaped, after having been purfued five days, during which the English and Dutch rearadmirals forang their fore-topmasts, and received other damage, fo that they could not proceed. Then Nevil steered to Carthagena, which he found quite abandoned by the inhabitants, who, after the departure of Pointis, had been rifled a second time by the buccaneers, on pretence that they had been defrauded of their share of the plunder. This was really the case; they had in a great measure contributed to the success of Pointis, and were very ill rewarded. In a few days the English admiral discovered eight fail of their ships, two of which were forced on shore and destroyed, two taken, and the rest escaped. Then he directed his course to Jamaica, and, by the advice of the governor, fir William Beeston, detached rear-admiral Meeze with some ships and forces to attack Petit Guavas; which he accordingly surprised, burned, and reduced to ashes. After this small expedition, Nevil proceeded to the Havannah, on purpose to take the galleons under his convoy for Europe, according to the instructions he had received from the king: But the governor of the place, and the general of the plate fleet, suspecting such an offer, would neither fuffer him to enter the harbour, nor put the galleons under his protection. He now failed through the Gulph of Florida to Virginia, where he died of chagrin; and the command of the fleet devolved on captain Dilkes, who arrived in England on the twentyfourth day of October, with a shattered squadron, halfmanned, to the unspeakable mortification of the people, who flattered themselves with the hopes of wealth and glory from this expedition. Pointis steering to the banks of Newfoundland, entered the bay of Conception, at a time when a fout English squadron commanded by commodore Norris lay at anchor in the bay of St. John. This officer being informed of the arrival of a French fleet, at first concluded that it was the squadron of M. Nesmond come to attack him; and exerted his utmost endeavours to put the place in a posture of defence: But, afterwards, understanding that it was Pointis

WILLIAM. Pointis returning with the spoil of Carthagena, he called pura council of war, and proposed to go immediately in rearquest of the enemy. He was, however, over-ruled by other a majority, who gave it as their opinion, that they Nevil should remain where they were, without running unoned necessary hazard. By virtue of this scandalous deterintis. mination. Pointis was permitted to proceed on his voys, on age to Europe; but he had not yet escaped every danger. ire of On the fourteenth day of August he fell in with a squal in a dron under the command of captain Harlow, by whom and he was boldly engaged till night parted the combatants. glish He was purfued next day; but his ships failing better o of than those of Harlow, he accomplished his escape, and ken, on the morrow entered the harbour of Brest. That his e to ships, which were foul, should outsail the English Wilsquadron, which had just put to sea, was a mystery which the people of England could not explain. They e accomplained of having been betrayed through the whole After course of the West Indian expedition. The king owned nah. he did not understand marine affairs; the entire conduct for of which he abandoned to Russel, who became proud, arbitrary, and unpopular, and was supposed to be bethe trayed by his dependents. Certain it is, the fervice was ffer. greatly obstructed by faction among the officers, which, put with respect to the nation had all the effects of treachery ailed and misconduct. e he lved

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§ LI. The fuccess of the French in Catalonia, Flanders, and the West Indies, was balanced by their disappointment in Poland. Louis, encouraged by the remonstrances of the abbé de Polignac, who managed the affairs of France in that kingdom, refolved to support the prince of Conti as a candidate for the crown, and remitted great fums of money, which were distributed among the Polish nobility. The emperor had at first declared for the fon of the late king: But finding the French party too firong for this competitor, he entered into a negociation with the elector of Saxony, who agreed to change his religion, to distribute eight millions of florins among the Poles, to confirm their privileges, and advance with his troops to the frontiers of that king-

dom. Having performed these articles, he declared himself a candidate; and was publicly espoused by the Imperialifts. The duke of Lorraine, the prince of Baden, and don Livio Odeschalchi, nephew to pope Innocent, were likewise competitors; but, finding their interest insufficient, they united their influence with that of the elector, who was proclaimed king of Poland, He forthwith took the cath required, procured an attestation from the Imperial court of his having changed his religion, and marched with his army to Cracow, where he was crowned with the usual solemnity. Louis perfifted in maintaining the pretentions of the prince of Conti, and equipped a fleet at Dunkirk for his convoy to Dantzick, in his way to Poland. But the magistrates of that city, who had declared for the new king, would not fuffer his men to land, though they offered to admit himself, with a small retinue. He, therefore, went on shore at Marienburgh, where he was met by some chiefs of his own party: But the new king Augustus acted with fuch vigilance, that he found it impracticable to form an army: Besides, he suspected the sidelity of his own Polish partisans: He, therefore, refused to part with the treasure he had brought; and in the beginning of winter returned to Dunkirk.

& LII. The establishment of Augustus on the throne of Poland was in some measure owing to the conduct of Peter the czar of Muscovy, who having formed great defigns against the Ottoman Porte, was very unwilling to fee the crown of Poland possessed by a partisan of France, which was in alliance with the grand feignior. He, therefore, interested himself warmly in the dispute, and ordered his general to affemble an army on the frontiers of Lithuania, which, by over-ruling the Poles that were in the interest of the prince of Conti, considerably influenced the election. This extraordinary legislator, who was a strange compound of heroism and barbarity, conscious of the defects in his education, and of the gross ignorance that overspread his dominions, refolved to extend his ideas, and improve his judgment, by travelling; and that he might be the less restricted t

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by forms, or interrupted by officious curiofity, he determined to travel in difguife. He was extremely ambitious of becoming a maritime power, and in particular of maintaining a fleet in the Black fea; and his immediate aim was to learn the principles of ship-building. He appointed an embaffy for Holland, to regulate fome points of commerce with the States-general. Having entrusted the care of his dominions to persons in whom he could confide, he now disguised himself, and travelled as one of their retinue. He first disclosed himself to the elector of Brandenburgh in Prussia, and afterwards to king William; with whom he conferred in private at Utrecht. He engaged himself as a common labourer with a ship carpenter in Holland, whom he ferved for fame months with wonderful patience and alliduity. He afterwards visited England, where he amused himself chiefly with the same kind of occupation. From thence he fet out for Vienna, where, recciving advices from his dominions, that his fifter was concerned in managing intrigues against his government, he returned suddenly to Moscow, and found the machinations of the conspirators were already baffled by the vigilance and fidelity of the foreigners to whom he had left the care of the administration. His savage nature, however, broke out upon this occasion; he ordered some hundreds to be hanged all round his capital; and a good number were beheaded, he himself, with his own hand, performing the office of executioner,

§ LIII. The negociations at Ryswick proceeded very slowly for some time. The Imperial minister demanded, that France should make restitution of all the places and dominions she had wrested from the empire since the peace of Munster, whether by force of arms or pretence of right. The Spaniards claimed all they could demand by virtue of the peace of Nimeguen and the treaty of the Pyrenees. The French affirmed, that if the preliminaries offered by Callieres were accepted, these propositions could not be taken into consideration. The Imperialists persisted in demanding a circumstantial answer, article by article. The Spaniards insisted upon

the same manner of proceeding, and called upon the mediator and Dutch ministers to support their pretentions. The plenipotentiaries of France declared, they would not admit any demand or proposition, contrary to the preliminary articles: But were willing to deliver in a project of peace, in order to shorten the negociations; and the Spanish ambassadors consented to this expedient, During these transactions, the earl of Portland held a conference with mareschal Boufflers, near Halle, in fight of the two opposite armies, which was continued in five fuccessive meetings. On the second day of August they retired together to a house in the suburbs of Halle, and mutually figned a paper, in which the principal articles of the peace between France and England were adjusted. Next day king William quitted the camp, and retired to his house at Loo, confident of having taken fuch measures for a pacification as could not be disapproved. The subject of this field-negociation is faid to have turned upon the interest of king James, which the French monarch promifed to abandon: Others, however, suppose, that the first foundation of the partitiontreaty was laid in this conference. But, in all probability, William's fole aim was to put an end to an expenfive and unfuccessful war, which had rendered him very unpopular in his own dominions, and to obtain from the court of France an acknowledgment of his title, which had, fince the queen's death, become the subject of dispute. He perceived the emperor's backwardness towards a pacification, and forefaw numberless difficulties in discussing such a complication of interests by the common method of treating: He, therefore, chose such a step as he thought would alarm the jealoufy of the allies, and quicken the negociation at Ryswick. Before the congress was opened, king James had published two manifestoes, addressed to the catholic and protestant princes of the confederacy, reprefenting his wrongs, and craving redrefs; but his remonstrances being altogether difregarded, he afterwards iffued a third declaration, folemnly protesting against all that might or should be negociated, regulated, or stipulated with the usurper

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usurper of his realms, as being void of all rightful and lawful authority. On the twentieth day of July the French ambassadors produced their project of a general peace, declaring at the fame time, that should it not be accepted before the last day of August, France would not hold herfelf bound for the conditions she now offered: But Caunitz, the emperor's plenipotentiary, protested he would pay no regard to this limitation. On the thirtieth of August, however, he delivered to the mediators an ultimatum; importing, that he adhered to the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen, and accepted of Strasbourg with its appurtenances: That he insisted upon the restitution of Lorraine to the prince of that name; and demanded, that the church and chapter of Leige should be re-established in the possession of their incontestable rights. Next day the French plenipotentiaries declared, that the month of August being now expired, all their offers were vacated: That, therefore, the king of France would referve Strafbourg and unite it, with its dependencies, to his crown for ever: That, in other respects, he would adhere to the project, and restore Barcelona to the crown of Spain; but that these terms must be accepted in twenty days, otherwise he should think himself at liberty to recede. The ministers of the electors and princes of the empire joined in a written remonstrance to the Spanish plenipotentiaries, representing the inconveniencies and dangers that would accrue to the Germanic body from France's being in poffession of Luxembourg, and exhorting them in the firongest terms to reject all offers of an equivalent for that province. They likewise presented another to the States'-general, requiring them to continue the war, according to their engagements, until France should have complied with the preliminaries. No regard, however, was paid to either of these addresses. Then the Imperial ambassador demanded the good offices of the mediator, on certain articles: But all that he could obtain of France was, that the term for adjusting the peace between her and the emperor should be prolonged till the hist day of November, and in the mean time an armistice ВЬ

be punctually observed. Yet even these concessions were made, on condition that the treaty with England, Spain, and Holland should be signed on that day, even though

the emperor and empire should not concur.

& LIV. Accordingly, on the twentieth day of September, the articles were subscribed by the Dutch, Eng. lish, Spanish, and French ambassadors, while the Imperial ministers protested against the transaction, obferving, this was the fecond time that a separate peace had been concluded with France; and that the States of the empire, who had been imposed upon through their own credulity, would not for the future be fo easily persuaded to engage in confederacies. In certain preparatory articles settled between England and France, king William promifed to pay a yearly pension to queen Mary d'Esté, of fifty thousand pounds, or fuch sum as should be established for that purpose by act of parliament. The treaty itself consisted of seventeen articles. The French king engaged, that he would not diffurb or disquiet the king of Great Britain in the posfelfion of his realms or government: Nor affift his enemies, nor fayour conspiracies against his person. This obligation was reciprocal. A free commerce was restored. Commissaries were appointed to meet at London, and fettle the pretentions of each crown to Hudfon's Bay, taken by the French during the late peace, and retaken by the English in the course of the war; and to regulate the limits of the places to be restored, as well as the exchanges to be made. It was likewife ftipulated, that, in case of a rupture, fix months should be allowed to the subjects of each power for removing their effects: That the separate articles of the treaty of Nimeguen, relating to the principality of Orange, should be entirely executed; and, that the ratifications should be exchanged in three weeks from the day of figning. The treaty between France and Holland imported a general armistice, a perpetual amity, a mutua restitution, a reciprocal renunciation of all pretensions upon each other, a confirmation of the peace with Savoy, a re-establishment of the treaty concluded between France and

and Brandenburgh in the year one thousand fix hunwere dred and feventy-nine, a comprehension of Sweden, and pain. all those powers that should be named before the ratiough fication, or in fix months after the conclusion of the Besides, the Dutch ministers concluded a treaty Sepof commerce with France, which was immediately put Eng. in execution. Spain had great reason to be satisfied Imwith the pacification, by which she recovered Gironne, ob-Roses, Barcelona, Luxembourg, Charleroy, Mons, Courtray, and all the towns, fortresses, and territories taken peace tes of by the French in the province of Luxembourg, Namur, their Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault, except eighty-two eafily towns and villages claimed by the French: This difpute was left to the decision of commissaries; or, in case ance. they should not agree, to the determination of the Statesaeen general. A remonstrance in favour of the French protestant refugees in England, Holland, and Germany, ım as was delivered by the earl of Pembroke to the mediators, parin the name of the Protestant Allies, on the day that prearticeded the conclusion of the treaty; but the French 1 not pofplenipotentiaries declared, in the name of their master, enethat as he did not pretend to prescribe rules to king This William about the English subjects, he expected the s refame liberty with respect to his own. No other effort was made in behalf of those conscientious exiles: the Lon-Hudtreaties were ratified, and the peace proclaimed at Paris

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§ LV. The emperor still held out, and perhaps was encouraged to persevere in his obstinacy by the success of his arms in Hungary, where his general, prince Eugene of Savoy, obtained a complete victory at Zenta over the forces of the grand seignior, who commanded his army in person. In this battle, which was fought on the eleventh day of September, the grand visir, the aga of the janissaries, seven-and-twenty bashaws, and about thirty thousand men, were killed or drowned in the river Theysse: Six thousand were wounded or taken, together with all their artillery, tents, baggage, provision, and ammunition, the grand seignior himself escaping with dissiculty: A victory the more glorious B b 2

and acceptable, as the Turks had a great superiority in point of number, and as the Imperialists did not lose a thousand men during the whole action. The emperor. perceiving that the event of this battle had no effect in retarding the treaty, thought proper to make use of the armistice, and continue the negociation after the forementioned treaties had been figned. This was likewife the case with the princes of the empire; though those of the protestant persuasion complained that their interest was neglected. In one of the articles of the treaty it was stipulated, that in the places to be restored by France, the Roman catholic religion should continue as it had been re-established. The ambassadors of the protestant princes joined in a remonstrance, demanding, that the Lutheran religion should be restored in those places where it had formerly prevailed; but this demand was rejected, as being equally disagreeable to France and the emperor. Then they refused to fign the treaty, which was now concluded between France, the emperor, and the catholic princes of the empire. By this pacification, Triers, the Palatinate, and Lorraine, were restored to their respective owners. The countries of Spanheim and Veldentz, together with the duchy of Deux-ponts, were ceded to the king of Sweden. Francis Louis Palatine was confirmed in the electorate of Cologn; and cardinal Furstemberg restored to all his rights and benefices. The claims of the duchess of Orleans upon the Palatinate were referred to the arbitration of France and the emperor; and in the meantime the elector palatine agreed to supply her highness with an annuity of one hundred thousand florins, The ministers of the protestant princes published a formal declaration against the clause relating to religion, and afterwards folemnly protested against the manner in which the negociation had been conducted. Such was the iffue of a long and bloody war, which had drained England of her wealth and people, almost entirely ruined her commerce, debauched her morals by encouraging venality and corruption, and entailed upon her the curse of foreign connexions, as well as a national debt.

debt, which was gradually increased to an intolerable burthen. After all the blood and treasure which had been expended, William's ambition and revenge remained unfatisfied. Nevertheless, he reaped the folid advantage of feeing himself firmly established on the English throne; and the confederacy, though not fuccefsful in every instance, accomplished their great aim of putting a flop to the encroachments of the French monarch. They mortified his vanity, they humbled his pride and arrogance, and compelled him to difgorge the acquisitions which, like a robber, he had made in violation of public faith, justice, and humanity. Had the allies been true to one another; had they acted from genuine zeal for the common interests of mankind, and prosecuted with vigour the plan which was originally concerted, Louis would, in a few campaigns, have been reduced to the most abject state of disgrace, despondence, and submission; for he was destitute of true courage and magnanimity. King William having finished this important transaction, returned to England about the middle of November, and was received in London amidst the acclamations of the people, who now again hailed him as their deliverer from a war, by the continuance of which they must have been infallibly beggared.

CHAP. VI.

§ I. State of parties. § II. Characters of the ministers. § III. The commons reduce the number of standing forces to ten thousand. § IV. They establish the civil list, and assign funds for paying the national debts. § V. They take cognizance of fraudulent endorsements of exchequer bills. § VI. A new East India company constituted by act of parliament. § VII. Proceedings against a book written by William Molineux, of Dublin. § VIII. And against certain smugglers of alamodes B b 3

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and lutestrings from France. & IX. Society for the reformation of manners. § X. The earl of Portland refigns his employments. § XI. The king disorons the Scottish trading company. § XII. He embarks for Holland. § XIII. First treaty of partition. § XIV. Intrigues of France at the court of Madrid. & XV King William is thwarted by his new parliament. § XVI. He is obliged to fend away his Dutch guards. § XVII. The commons address the king against the papists. § XVIII. The parliament prorogued. § XIX. The Scottish company make a settlement on the isthmus of Darien. § XX. Which, however, they are compelled to abandon. § XXI. Remonstrances of the Spanish court against the treaty of partition. § XXII. The commons perfift in their resolutions to mortify the king. § XXIII. Enquiry into the expedition of captain Kidd. § XXIV. - A motion made against Burnet, bishop of Sarum. § XXV. Enquiry into the Irish forfeitures. § XXVI. The commons pass a bill of resumption. § XXVII. And a severe bill against papists. § XXVIII. The old East India company re-established. & XXIX. Dangerous ferment in Scotland. § XXX. Lord Somers difmissed from his employments. § XXXI. Second treaty of partition. § XXXII. Death of the duke of Glou. cefter. § XXXIII. The king sends a fleet into the Baltic, to the affiftance of the Swedes. & XXXIV. The second treaty of partition generally disagreeable to the European powers. § XXXV. The French interest prevails at the court of Spain. § XXXVI. King William finds means to allay the heats in Scotland. § XXXVII. The king of Spain dies, after having bequeathed his dominions, by will, to the duke of Anjou, § XXXVIII. The French king's apology for accepting the will. § XXXIX. The States-General own Philip as king of Spain. § XL. A new ministry and a new parliament. § XLI. The commons unpropitious to the court. § XLII. The lords are more condescending. § XLIII. An intercepted letter from the earl of Milfort to his brother. § XLIV. Succession of the crown settled upon the princess Sophia, electress-dowager of Hanover, and

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and the protestant heirs of her body. & XLV. The duchess of Savoy protests against this act. § XLVI. Ineffectual negociation with France. § XLVII. Severe address from both houses in relation to the partition treaty. § XLVIII. William is obliged to acknowledge the king of Spain. & XLIX. The two houses feem to enter into the king's measures. & L. The commons refolve to wreak their vengeance on the old ministry. § LI. The earls of Portland and Oxford, the lords Somers and Hallifax, are impeached. § LII. Disputes between the two houses. & LIII The house of peers acquit the impeached lords. & LIV. Petition of Kent. & LV. Favourable end of the session. & LVI. Progress of prince Eugene in Italy. & LVII. Sketch of the situation of affairs in Europe. & LVIII. Treaty of alliance between the emperor and the maritime powers. § LIX. Death of king James. § LX. The French king owns the pretended prince of Wales as king of England. & LXI. Address to king William on that subject. § LXII. New parliament. § LXIII. The king's last speech to both houses received with great applause. 6 LXIV. Great harmony between the king and parliament. § LXV. The truo houses pass the bill of abjuration. & LXVI. The lower house justifies the proceedings of the commons in the preceding parliament. § LXVII. § Affairs of Ireland. § LXVIII. The king recommends an union of the two kingdoms. § LXIX. He falls from his horse, & LXX. His death. & LXXI. And character.

I. WHEN the king opened the session of parliament on the third day of December, he told them the war was brought to the end they all proposed; namely, an honourable peace. He gave them to understand there was a considerable debt on account of the sleet and army: That the revenues of the crown had been anticipated: He expressed his hope, that they would provide for him, during his life, in such a manner as would conduce to his own honour and that of the government. He recommended the maintenance of a considerable

fiderable navy; and gave it as his opinion, that, for the present, England could not be safe without a standing army. He promised to rectify such corruptions and abuses as might have crept into any part of the adminifiration during the war; and effectually to discourage prophaneness and immorality. Finally, he affured them, that as he had refcued their religion, laws, and liberties, when they were in the extremest danger, so he should place the glory of his reign in preferring and leaving them entire to latest posterity. To this speech the commons replied in an address, by a compliment of congratulation upon the peace, and an affurance, that they would be ever ready to affift and support his majesty, who had confirmed them in the quiet possession of their rights and liberties, and, by putting an end to the war, fully completed the work of their deliverance. Notwithstanding these appearances of good-humour, the mafority of the house, and, indeed, of the whole nation, were equally alarmed and exasperated at a project for maintaining a standing army, which was countenanced at court, and even recommended by the king in his speech to the parliament. William's genius was altogether military. He could not bear the thoughts of being a king without power. He could not, without reluctance, difinifs those officers who had given fo many proofs of their courage and fidelity. He did not think himself fafe upon the naked throne, in a kingdom that fwarmed with malcontents, who had fo often conspired against his person and government. He dreaded the ambition and known perfidy of the French king, who still retained a powerful army. He forefaw that a reduction of the forces would leffen his importance both at home and abroad; diminish the dependence upon his government; and disperse those foreigners in whose attachment he chiefly confided. He communicated his fentiments on this subject to his confidant, the earl of Sunderland, who knew by experience the aversion of the people to a ftanding army; nevertheless, he encouraged him with hope of fuccess, on the supposition that the commons would fee the difference between an army raifed by the king's

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king's private authority, and a body of veteran troops maintained by confent of parliament for the fecurity of the kingdom. This was a distinction to which the people paid no regard. All the jealoufy of former parliaments feemed to be roufed by the bare propofal; and this was inflamed by a national prejudice against the refugees, in whose favour the king had betrayed repeated marks of partial indulgence. They were submissive, tractable, and wholly dependent upon his will and generosity. The Jacobites failed not to cherish the seeds of dislatisfaction, and reproach the Whigs, who countenanced this measure. They branded that party with apostacy from their former principles. They observed, that the very persons who in the late reigns endeavoured to abridge the prerogative, and deprive the king of that thare of power which was absolutely necessary to actuate the machine of government, were now become advocates for maintaining a standing army in time of peace; nay, and impudently avowed, that their complaisance to the court in this particular was owing to their defire of excluding from all share in the administration a faction disaffected to his majesty, which might mislead him into more pernicious measures. The majority of those who really entertained revolution principles, opposed the court from apprehensions that a standing army once established would take root, and grow into an habitual maxim of government: That should the people be disarmed, and the fword left in the hands of mercenaries, the liberties of the nation must be entirely at the mercy of him by whom those mercenaries should be commanded. They might overawe elections, dictate to parliaments, and establish a tyranny, before the people could take any measures for their own protection. They could not help thinking it was possible to form a milita, that, with the concurrence of a fleet, might effectually protect the kingdom from the dangers of invalion. They firmly believed, that a militia might be regularly trained to arms fo as to acquire the dexterity of professed soldiers; and they did not doubt they would furpals thole hirelings in courage, considering that they would be COLICINALS

animated by every concurring motive of interest, fentil ment, and affection. Nay, they argued, that Britain, furrounded as it was by a boisterous sea, secured by floating bulwarks, abounding with flout and hardy inhabitants, did not deserve to be free, if her fons could not protect their liberties without the affiftance of mercenaries, who were indeed the only flaves in the king. dom. Yet among the genuine friends of their country, fome individuals espoused the opposite maxims. They observed, that the military system of every government in Europe was now altered: That war was become a trade, and discipline a science, not to be learned but by those who made it their fole profession: That, therefore, while France kept up a large standing army of veterans, ready to embark on the opposite coast, it would be absolutely necessary, for the fafety of the nation, to maintain a fmall standing force; which should be voted in parliament from year to year. They might have fuggested another expedient, which in a few years would have produced a militia of disciplined men. Had the soldiers of this small standing army been enlisted for a term of years, at the expiration of which they might have claimed their discharge, volunteers would have offered themfelves from all parts of the kingdom, even from the defire of learning the use and exercise of arms, the ambition of being concerned in scenes of actual service, and the chagrin of little disappointments or temporary disgufts, which yet would not have impelled them to enlift as foldiers on the common terms of perpetual flavery. In consequence of such a succession the whole kingdom would from have been flocked with members of a disciplined militia, equal, if not superior, to any army of professed soldiers. But this scheme would have defeated the purpose of the government, which was more afraid of domestic foes than of foreign enemies; and industrioully avoided every plan of this nature, which could contribute to render the malcontents of the nation more formidable.

§ II. Before we proceed to the transactions of parliament in this session, it may not be amis to sketch the outlines

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outlines of the ministry, as it stood at this juncture. The king's affection for the earl of Portland had begun to abate, in proportion as his effeem for Sunderland increased, together with his consideration for Mrs. Villiers. who had been diffinguished by some particular marks of his majesty's favour. These two favourites are faid to have supplanted Portland, whose place in the king's bofom was now filled by Van Keppel, a gentleman of Guelderland, who had first served his majesty as a page, and afterwards acted as private fecretary. Portland growing troublesome, from his jealousy of this rival, the king refolved to fend him into honourable exile, in quality of an ambaffador-extraordinary to the court of France: and Trumbal, his friend and creature. was difinisfed from the office of fecretary, which the king conferred upon Vernon, a plodding man of business, who had acted as under-secretary to the duke of Shrewsbury. This nobleman rivalled the earl of Sunderland in his credit at the council-board, and was fupported by Somers, lord chancellor of England, by Ruffel, now earl of Orford, first lord of the admiralty, and Montagu, chancellor of the exchequer. Somers was an upright judge, a plaufible statesman, a consummate courtier, affable, mild, and infinuating. Orford appears to have been rough, turbulent, factious, and shallow. Montagu had diftinguished himself early by his poetical genius; but he foon converted his attention to the cultivation of more folid talents. He rendered himfelf remarkable for his eloquence, discernment, and knowledge of the English constitution. To a delicate tafte, he united an eager appetite for political studies. The first catered for the enjoyments of fancy; the other was subservient to his ambition. He, at the same time. was the distinguished encourager of the liberal arts, and the professed patron of projectors. In his private deportment he was liberal, easy, and entertaining; as a itatefinan, bold, dogmatical, and afpiring.

§ III. The terrors of a standing army had produced such an universal ferment in the nation, that the dependents of the court durst not openly oppose the reduc-

tion

tion of the forces: But they shifted the battery, and employed all their address in persuading the house to agree, that a very small number should be retained. When the commons voted, That all the forces raised fince the year one thousand fix hundred-and-eighty should be disbanded, the courtiers defired the vote might be recommitted, on pretence that it restrained the king to the old Tory regiments, on whose fidelity he could not rely, This motion, however, was over-ruled by a confiderable majority. Then they proposed an amendment, which was rejected; and afterwards moved. That the fum of five hundred thousand pounds per annum should be granted for the maintenance of guards and garrisons, This provision would have maintained a very considerable number; but they were again disappointed, and fain to embrace a composition with the other party, by which three hundred-and-fifty thousand pounds were allotted for the maintenance of ten thousand men; and they afterwards obtained an addition of three thousand marines. The king was extremely mortified at these resolutions of the commons; and even declared to his particular friends. that he would never have intermeddled with the affairs of the nation, had he foreseen they would make such returns of ingratitude and distrust. His displeasure was aggravated by the refentment expressed against Sunderland, who was supposed to have advised the unpopular measure of retaining a standing army. This nobleman, dreading the vengeance of the commons, refolved to avert the fury of the impending storm, by refigning his office and retiring from court, contrary to the entreaties of his friends, and the earnest defire of his majesty.

§ IV. The house of commons, in order to sweeten the unpalatable cup they had presented to the king, voted the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds per annum for the support of the civil list, distinct from all other services. Then they passed an act prohibiting the currency of silver hammered coin, including a clause for making out new exchequer-bills, in lieu of those which were or might be filled up with endorsements: They framed another to open the correspondence with France,

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under a variety of provisos: A third, for continuing the imprisonment of certain persons who had been concerned in the late conspiracy: A fourth, granting further time for administering oaths with respect to tallies and orders in the exchequer and bank of England. These bills having received the royal affent, they refolved to grant a fupply, which, together with the funds already fettled for that purpose, should be sufficient to answer and cancel all exchequer bills, to the amount of two millions feven hundred thousand pounds. Another supply was voted for the payment and reduction of the army, including half-pay to fuch commission-officers as were naturalborn subjects of England. They granted one million four hundred thousand pounds to make good deficiencies. They resolved, That the sum of two millions three hundred-and-forty-eight thousand one hundred-and-two pounds was necessary to pay off arrears, subsistence, contingencies, general-officers, guards, and garrifons; of which fum eight hundred-and-fifty-five thousand five hundred-and-two pounds remained in the hands of the Then they took into confideration the fubfidies due to foreign powers, and the fums owing to contractors for bread and forage. Examining further the debts of the nation, they found the general debt of the navy amounted to one million three hundred-andminety-two thousand seven hundred and forty-two pounds. That of the ordnance was equal to two hundred-and-four thousand one hundred-and-fifty-seven pounds. transport debt, contracted for the reduction of Ireland, and other services, did not fall short of four hundredand-fixty-fix thousand four hundred-and-ninety-three pounds; and they owed nine-and-forty thousand nine hundred-and-twenty-nine pounds for quartering and clothing the army, which had been raifed by one act of parliament in the year 1677, and disbanded by another in the year 1679. As this enormous load of debt could not be discharged at once, the commons passed a number of votes for raising sums of money, by which it was coniderably lightened; and fettled the funds for those purposes by the continuation of the land-tax, and other im-VOL. I. Cc positions.

impositions. With respect to the civil list, it was raised by a new subsidy of tonnage and poundage, the hereditary and temporary excile, a weekly portion from the revenue of the post-office, the first fruits and tenths of the clergy, the fines in the alienation-office, and post-fines, the revenue of the wine-licenfe, money arifing by sheriffs proffers, and compositions in the exchequer, and feizures, the income of the duchy of Cornwall, the rents of all other crown-lands in England or Wales, and the duty of four and a half per cent. upon specie from Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands. The bill imported, that the overplus arising from these funds should be accounted for to parliament. Six hundred thoufand pounds. of this money was allotted for the purposes of the civil lift: The rest was granted for the jointure of fifty thoufand pounds per annum, to be paid to queen Mary d'Esté, according to the stipulation at Ryswick; and to maintain a court for the duke of Gloucester, son of the princess Anne of Denmark, now in the ninth year of his age: But the jointure was never paid; nor would the king allow above fifteen thousand pounds per annum for the use of the duke of Gloucester, to whom Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, was appointed preceptor.

& V. The commons having discussed the ways and means for raifing the supplies of the ensuing year, which rose almost to five millions, took cognizance of fome fraudulent endorsements of exchequer bills: A species of forgery which had been practifed by a confederacy, confifting of Charles Duncomb, receiver-general of the exci'e, Bartholomew Burton, who possessed a place in that branch of the revenue, John Knight, treafurer of the customs, and Reginald Marriot, a deputyteller of the exchequer. This last became evidence, and the proof turning out very strong and full, the house refolved to make examples of the delinquents. Duncomb and Knight, both members of parliament, were expelled, and committed to the Tower: Burton was fent to Newgate; and bills of pains and penalties were ordered to be brought in against them. The first, levelled at Duncomb, passed the lower house, though not politions.

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without great opposition: but was rejected in the house of lords by the majority of one voice. Duncombe who was extremely rich, is faid to have paid dear for his escape. The other two bills met with the same fate. The peers discharged Duncomb from his confinement; but he was recommitted by the commons, and remained in custody till the end of the session. While the commons were employed on ways and means, some of the members in the opposition proposed, that one-fourth part of the money arising from improper grants of the crown should be appropriated to the service of the public; but this was a very unpalatable expedient, as it affected not only the Whigs of king William's reign, but also the Tories who had been gratified by Charles II. and his brother. A great number of petitions were prefented against this measure, and so many difficulties raised, that both parties agreed to lay it aside. In the course of this enquiry, they discovered that one Railton held a grant in trust for Mr. Montagu, chancellor of the exchequer. A motion was immediately made, that he should withdraw; but passed in the negative by a great majority. Far from profecuting this minister, the house voted it was their opinion, That Mr. Montagu, for his good fervices to the government, did deferve his majefty's favour. and personnel amount a bas neithoggo

(1698.) § VI. This extraordinary vote was a sure presage of success in the execution of a scheme which Montagu had concerted against the East India company. They had been sounded about advancing a sum of money for the public service, by way of loan, in consideration of a parliamentary settlement; and they offered to raise seven hundred thousand pounds on that condition: But, before they formed this resolution, another body of merchants, under the auspices of Montagu, offered to lend two millions at eight per cent. provided they might be gratified with an exclusive privilege of trading to the East Indies. This proposal was very well received by the majority in the house of commons. A bill for this purpose was brought in, with additional clauses of regulation. A petition was presented by the old company, representing

their rights and claims under so many royal charters; the regard due to the property of above a thousand families interested in the stock: As also to the company's property in India, amounting to forty-four thousand pounds of yearly revenue. They alledged they had expended a million in fortifications; that during the war they had loft twelve great ships, worth fifteen hundred thousand pounds: That fince the last subscription, they had contributed two hundred and ninety-five thousand pounds to the customs, with above eighty-five thousand pounds in taxes: That they had furnished fix thousand barrels of gunpowder on a very prefling occasion; and eighty thousand pounds for the circulation of exchequer bills, at a very critical juncture, by defire of the lords of the treasury, who owned that their compliance was a very important fervice to the government. No regard being paid to their remonstrance, they undertook to raise the loan of two millions, and immediately subscribed two hundred thousand pounds as the first payment. The two proposals being compared and considered by the house, the majority declared for the bill, which was passed, and fent up to the house of lords. There the old company delivered another petition, and was heard by counsel; nevertheless, the bill made its way, though not without opposition, and a formal protestation by one-and-twenty lords, who thought it was a hardship upon the present company; and doubted whether the separate trade allowed in the bill, concurrent with a joint stock, might not prove fuch an inconfiftency as would discourage the fubscription. This act, by which the old company was diffolved, in a great measure blasted the reputation of the Whigs, which had for fome time been on the decline with the people. They had stood up as advocates for a standing army: They now unjustly superfeded the East India company: They were accused of having robbed the public by embezzling the national treasure, and amaffing wealth by usurious contracts, at the expence of their fellow-subjects, groaning under the most oppressive burthens. Certain it is, they were at this period the most mercenary and corrupt undertakers their

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& VII. The commons now transferred their attention to certain objects, in which the people of Ireland were interested. Colonel Mitchelborne, who had been joint-governor of Londonderry with Dr. Walker, during the fiege of that place, petitioned the house in behalf of himself, his officers, and soldiers, to whom a confiderable fum of money was due for sublistence; and the city itself implored the mediation of the commons with his majesty, that its services and sufferings might be taken into confideration. The house having examined the allegations contained in both petitions, prefented an address to the king, recommending the citizens of Londonderry to his majesty's favour, that they might no longer remain a ruinous spectacle to all, a scorn to their enemies, and a discouragement to well-affected fubjects: They likewife declared, that the governor and garrison did deserve some special marks of royal favour, for a lasting monument to posterity. To this address the king replied, that he would confider them according to the defire of the commons. William Molineux, a gentleman of Dublin, having published a book to prove that the kingdom of Ireland was independent of the parliament of England, the house appointed a committee to enquire into the cause and nature of this performance. An address was voted to the king, desiring he would give directions for the discovery and punishment of the author. Upon the report of the committee, the commons in a body prefented an address to his majesty, representing the dangerous attempts which had been lately made by fome of his subjects in Ireland, to shake off their subjection and dependence upon England: Attempts which appeared not only from the bold and pernicious affertions contained in a book lately published, but more fully and authentically by some votes and proceedings of the commons in Ireland. These had, during their last session, transmitted an act for the better security of his majesty's person and government, whereby an English Ccz

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English act of parliament was pretended to be re-enacted, with alterations obligatory on the courts of justice and the great seal of England. The English commons, therefore, befought his majesty to give effectual orders for preventing any such encroachments for the suture, and the pernicious consequences of what was past, by punishing those who had been guilty thereof: That he would take care to see the laws which direct and restrain the parliament of Ireland punctually observed, and discourage every thing which might have a tendency to lessen the dependence of Ireland upon England. This remonstrance was graciously received; and the king-pro-

mifed to comply with their request.

§ VIII. The jealoufy which the commons entertained of the government in Ireland animated them to take other measures, that ascertained the subjection of that kingdom. Understanding that the Irish had established divers woollen manufactures, they, in another address, intreated his majesty to take measures for discouraging the woollen manufactures in Ireland, as they interfered with those of England, and promote the linen manufacture; which would be profitable to both nations At the same time, receiving information that the French had seduced some English manufacturers, and fet up a great work for cloth-making in Picardy, they brought in a bill for explaining and better executing former acts for preventing the exportation of wool, fullers-earth, and scouring-clay; and this was immediately passed into a law. A petition being presented to the house by the lutestring company, against certain merchants who had finuggled alamodes and lutestrings from France, even during the war, the committee of trade was directed to enquire into the allegations; and all the fecrets of this traffic were detected. Upon the report, the house resolving that the manufacture of alamodes and lutestrings set up in England had been beneficial to the kingdom: That there had been a destructive and illegal trade carried on during the war, for importing these commodities, by which the king had been defrauded of his customs, and the English manufacturers greatly

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greatly discouraged: That, by the smuggliag vessels employed in this trade, intelligence had been carried into France during the war, and the enemies of the government conveyed from justice: Stephen Seignoret, Rhené Baudoin, John Goudet, Nicholas Santini, Peter de Hearse, John Pierce, John Dumatre, and David Barreau, were impeached at the bar of the house of lords, and pleaded guilty; the lords imposed fines upon them, according to their respective circumstances. They were in the meantime committed to Newgate until those fines should be paid; and the commons addressed the king, that the money might be appropriated to the maintenance of Greenwich hospital. The house having taken cognizance of this affair, and made fonce new regulations in the profecution of the African trade, presented a solemn address to the king, representing the general degeneracy and corruption of the age, and befeeching his majesty to command all his judges, justices, and magiftrates, to put the laws in execution against profanencis and immorality. The king professed himself extremely well pleased with this remonstrance, promised to give immediate directions for a reformation, and expressed his defire that some more effectual provision might be made for suppressing impious books, containing doctrines against the Trinity: Doctrines which abounded at this period, and took their origin from the licentiousness and profligacy of the times. Admiration area of halogone.

§ IX. In the midst of such immorality, Dr. Thomas Bray, an active divine, formed a plan for propagating the gospel in foreign countries. Missionaries, catechisms, liturgies, and other books for the instruction of ignorant people, were sent to the English colonies in America. This laudable design was supported by voluntary contribution; and the bill having been brought into the house of commons for the better discovery of estates given to superstitious uses, Dr. Bray presented a petition, praying, that some part of those estates might be set apart for the propagation of the reformed religion in Maryland, Virginia, and the Leward Islands. About this period, a society for the reformation of manners

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was formed under the king's countenance and encouragement. Confiderable collections were made for maintaining clergymen to read prayers at certain hours in places of public worship, and administer the facrament every Sunday. The members of this fociety refolved to inform the magistrates of all vice and immorality that should fall under their cognizance; and, with that part of the fines allowed by law to the informer, constitute a fund of charity. The business of the session being terminated, the king, on the third day of July, prorogued the parliament, after having thanked them, in a short speech, for the many testimonies of their affection he had received; and in two days after the pro-

rogation, it was diffolved it bear niste and to some insor & X. In the month of January, the earl of Portland had fet out on his embaffy to France; where he was received with very particular marks of diffinction, He made a public entry into Paris with fuch magnificence as is faid to have aftonished the French nation. He interceded for the protestants in that kingdom, against whom the perfecution had been renewed with redoubled violence; he proposed that king James should be removed to Avignon, in which case his master would supply him with an honourable pension: But his remonstrances on both subjects proved ineffectual. Louis, however, in a private conference with him at Marli, is supposed to have communicated his project of the partition treaty. The earl of Portland, at his return to England, finding himself totally eclipsed in the king's favour by Keppel, now created earl of Albemarle, refigned his employments in difgust; nor could the king's folicitations prevail upon him to refume any office in the household, though he promised to serve his majesty in any other shape, and was soon employed to negociate

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^{*} On the fifth day of January, a fire breaking out at Whitehall, through the careleffness of a laundress, the whole body of the palace, together with the new gallery, councilchamber, and feveral adjoining apartments, were entirely confurned; but the banqueting-house was not affected.

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the treaty of partition. If this nobleman miscarried in the purposes of his last embassy at the court of Verfailles, the agents of France were equally unfuccefsful in their endeavours to retrieve their commerce with England, which the war had interrupted. Their commiffary, fent over to London with powers to regulate the trade between the two nations, met with insuperable difficulties. The parliament had burthened the French commodities with heavy duties, which were already appropriated to different uses; and the channel of trade was in many respects entirely altered. The English merchants supplied the nation with wines from Italy. Spain, and Portugal; with linen from Holland and Silesia; and manufactures of paper, hats, stuffs, and filks, had been fet up and fuccessfully carried on in England,

by the French refugees.

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all bellow upon thein & XI. By this time a ferment had been raised in Scotland, by the opposition and discouragements their new company had fuftained. They had employed agents in England, Holland, and Hamburgh, to receive fubscriptions. The adventurers in England were intimidated by the measures which had been taken in parliament against the Scottish company. The Dutch East India company took the alarm, and exerted all their interest to prevent their countrymen from subscribing; and the king permitted his resident at Hamburgh to prefent a memorial against the Scottish company to the fenate of that city. The parliament of Scotland being affembled by the earl of Marchmont as king's commisfioner, the company prefented it with a remonstrance, containing a detail of their grievances, arifing from the conduct of the English house of commons, as well as from the memorial presented by the king's minister at Hamburgh; in which he actually disowned the act of parliament and letters patent which had passed in their favour, and threatened the inhabitants of that city with his majesty's refentment, in case they should join the Scots in their undertaking. They represented, that such instances of interposition had put a stop to the subscriptions in England and Hamburgh, hurt the credit of the

company, discouraged the adventurers, and threatened the entire ruin of a defign in which all the most confiderable families of the nation were deeply engaged. The parliament having taken their case into consideration, fent an address to his majesty, representing the hardships to which the company had been exposed, explaining how far the nation in general was concerned in the defign, and intreating that he would take fuch measures as might effectually vindicate the undoubted rights and privileges of the company. This address was seconded by a petition from the company itself, praying, that his majesty would give fome intimation to the senate of Hamburgh, permitting the inhabitants of that city to renew the fubscriptions they had withdrawn: That, as a gracious mark of his royal favour to the company, he would bestow upon them two small frigates, then Iving useless in the harbour of Burnt Island; and that, in consideration of the obstructions they had encountered, he would continue their privileges and immunities for fuch longer time as should seem reasonable to his majefty. Though the commissioner was wholly devoted to the king, who had actually resolved to ruin this company, he could not appeale the refentment of the nation; and the heats in parliament became so violent, that he was obliged to adjourn it to the fifth day of November, In this interval, the directors of the company, understanding from their agent at Hamburgh that the address of the parliament, and their own petition, had produced no effect in their favour, they wrote a letter of complaint to the lord Seafield, fecretary of state, observing, that they had received repeated affurances of the king's having given orders to his resident at Hamburgh, touching their memorial, and intreating the interpolition of his lordship, that justice might be done to the company. The fecretary, in his answer, promised to take the first convenient opportunity of representing the affair to his majesty; but he said, this could not be immediately expected, as the king was much engaged in the affairs of the English parliament. This declaration the directors confidered, as it really was, a mere evafion, which helped

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& XII. King William at this time revolved in his own mind a project of far greater consequence to the interest of Europe; namely, that of fettling the fucceition to the throne of Spain, which in a little time would be vacated by the death of Charles II. whose constitution was already exhausted. He had been lately reduced to extremity; and his fituation was no fooner known in France, than Louis detached a fquadron towards Cadiz, with orders to intercept the plate-fleet, in case the king of Spain should die before its arrival. William sent another fleet to protect the galleons; but it arrived too late for that fervice; and the nation loudly exclaimed against the tardiness of the equipment. His catholic majesty recovered from his disorder, contrary to the expectation of his people; but continued in fuch an enfeebled and precarious state of health, that a relapse was every moment apprehended. In the latter end of July king William embarked for Holland, on pretence of enjoying a recess from business, which was necessary to his constitution. He was glad of an opportunity to withdraw himself for some time from a kingdom in which he had been exposed to fuch opposition and chagrin. But the real motive of his voyage was a defign of treating with the French king, remote from the observation of those who might have penetrated into the nature of his negociation. He had appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence; and, as one of the number, nominated the earl of Marlborough, who had regained his favour, and had been constituted governor of the duke of Gloucester. At his majesty's departure, sealed orders were left with the ministry, directing, that fixteen thousand men should be retained in the service, notwithstanding the vote of the commons, by which the standing army was limited to ten thousand. He alledged that the apprehension of troubles which might arise at the death of king Charles, induced him to transgress this limitation; and he hoped that the new parliament would be more favourable. His ge of sid by bloom to had it that I

enemies, however, made a fresh handle of this step, to

depreciate his character in the eyes of the people.

& XIII. Having affifted at the affembly of the States-General, and given audiences to divers ambaffadors at the Hague, he repaired to his house at Loo, attended by the earls of Effex, Portland, and Selkirk. There he was visited by count Tallard, the French minister, who had instructions to negociate the treaty concerning the Spanish fuccession. The earl of Portland, by his majesty's order, had communicated to secretary Vernon the principal conditions which the French king proposed: He himself wrote a letter to lord chancellor Somers, defiring his advice with regard to the propositions, and full powers under the great feal, with blanks to be filled up occasionally, that he might immediately begin the treaty with count Tallard. At the same time he strictly enjoined secrecy. The purport of Portland's letter was imparted to the duke of Shrewfoury and Mr. Montagu, who confulted with the chancellor and Vernon on the subject; and the chancellor wrote an answer to the king, as the iffue of their joint deliberations: But before it reached his majefty, the first treaty of partition was signed by the earl of Portland and fir Joseph Williamson. The contracting powers agreed, That, in case the king of Spain should die without iffue, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, with the places depending on the Spanish monarchy, and fituated on the coast of Tuscany, or the adjacent islands, the marquifate of Final, the province of Guipuscoa, all places on the French side of the Pyrenees, or the other mountains of Navarre, Alva, or Bifcav, on the other fide of the province of Guipuscoa, with all the ships, vessels, and stores, should devolve upon the dauphin, in confideration of his right to the crown of Spain; which, with all its other dependencies, should descend to the electoral prince of Bavaria, under the guardianship of his father: That the duchy of Milan should be settled on the emperor's fecond fon, the archduke Charles: That this treaty should be communicated to the emperor and the elector of Bavaria by the king of England and the States-General: That if either should refuse to agree

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to this partition, his proportion should remain in sequestration until the dispute could be accommodated: That in case the electoral prince of Bavaria should die before his father, then the elector and his other heirs should fucceed him in those dominions: And, should the archduke reject the duchy of Milan, they agreed that it should be sequestered, and governed by the prince of Vaudemont. It may be necessary to observe, that Philip IV. father to the present king of Spain, had settled his crown, by will, on the emperor's children: That the dauphin was fon to Maria-Therefa, daughter to the fame monarch, whose right to the succession Louis had renounced in the most solemn manner: As for the electoral prince of Bavaria, he was grandfon to a daughter of Spain. This treaty of partition was one of the most impudent schemes of encroachment that tyranny and injustice ever planned. Louis, who had made a practice of facrificing all ties of honour and good faith to the interest of his pride, vanity, and ambition, foresaw that he should never be able to accomplish his defigns upon the crown of Spain while William was left at liberty to form another confederacy against them. He therefore resolved to amuse him with a treaty, in which he should feem to act as umpire in the concerns of Europe. He knew that William was too much of a politician to be restricted by notions of private justice; and that he would make no scruple to infringe the laws of particular countries, or even the rights of a fingle nation, when the balance of power was at stake. He judged right in this particular. The king of England lent a willing ear to his proposals, and engaged in a plan for dismembering a kingdom in despite of the natives, and in violation of every law, human or divine.

§ XIV. While the French king cajoled William with this negociation, the marquis d'Harcourt, his ambassador to Spain, was engaged in a game of a different nature at Madrid. The queen of Spain, suspecting the designs of France, exerted all her interest in behalf of the king of the Romans, to whom she was nearly related. She new-modelled the council, bestowed the government of Milan on prince

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Vaudemont, and established the prince of Hesse d'Armstadt as viceroy of Catalonia. Notwithstanding all her efforts, she could not prevent the French minister from acquiring some influence in the Spanish council. He was instructed to procure the succession of the crown for one of the dauphin's fons, or at least to hinder it from devolving upon the emperor's children. With a view to give weight to his negociations, the French king ordered an army of fixty thousand men to advance towards the frontiers of Catalonia and Navarre, while a great number of ships and gallies cruifed along the coast, and entered the harbours of Spain. Harcourt immediately began to form his party: He represented that Philip IV. had no power to dispose of his crown against the laws of nature and the constitution of the realm: That, by the order of succesfion, the crown ought to descend to the children of his daughter, in preference to more distant relations: That, if the Spaniards would declare in favour of the dauphin's fecond fon, the duke of Anjou, they might train him up in the manners and customs of their country. When he found them averse to this proposal, he affured them his mafter would approve of the electoral prince of Bavaria, rather than confent to the fuccession's devolving upon a fon of the emperor. Nay, he hinted, that if they would choose a fovereign among themselves, they might depend upon the protection of his most christian majesty, who had no other view than that of preventing the house of Austria from becoming too formidable to the liberties of Europe. The queen of Spain having discovered the intrigues of this minister, conveyed the king to Toledo, on pretence that the air of Madrid was prejudicial to his health. Harcourt immediately took the alarm. He supposed her intention was to prevail upon her husband, in his folitude, to confirm the last will of his father; and his doubts were all removed, when he understood that the count de Aarrach, the Imperial ambassador, had privately repaired to Tojedo. He forthwith took the fame road, pretending to have received a memorial from his master, with a positive order to deliver it into the king's own hand. He was given to understand, that the manage.

management of foreign affairs had been left to the care of cardinal Corduba, at Madrid; and that the king's health would not permit him to attend to bufinefs. The purport of the memorial was an offer of French forces to affift in raising the siege of Ceuta, in Barbary, which the Moors had lately undertaken: But this offer was civilly declined. Harcourt, not yet discouraged, redoubled his efforts at Madrid, and found means to engage cardinal Portccarrero in the interests of his master. In the mean time Louis concluded an alliance with Sweden, under the pretext of preferving and fecuring the common peace by fuch means as should be adjudged most proper and convenient. During these transactions king William was not wanting in his endeavours to terminate the war in Hungary, which had raged fifteen years without intermission. About the middle of August lord Paget and Mr. Collier, ambassadors from England and Holland, arrived in the Turkish camp, near Belgrade; and a conference being opened under their mediation, the peace of Carlowitz was figned on the twenty-fixth day of Janu-By this treaty the emperor remained in possetsion of all his conquests: Caminieck was restored to the Poles: All the Morea, with several fortresses in Dalmatia, were ceded to the Venetians; and the czar of Muscovy retained Azoph during a truce of two years: So that the Turks, by this pacification, lost great part of their European dominions. The cardinal primate of Poland, who had strenuously adhered to the prince of Conti, was prevailed upon to acknowledge Augustus; and the commotions in Lithuania being appealed, peace was established through all Christendom.

§ XV. In the beginning of December the king arrived in England, where a new parliament had been chosen, and prorogued on account of his majesty's absence, which was prolonged by contrary winds and tempestuous weather. His ministry had been at very little pains to influence the elections, which generally fell upon men of revolution principles, though they do not seem to have been much devoted to the person of their sovereign: Yet their choice of sir Thomas Lyttleton for speaker

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feemed to prefage a fession favourable to the ministry. The two houses being convened on the fixth day of December, the king, in his speech, observed, That the fafety, honour, and happiness of the kingdom would in a great measure depend upon the strength which they should think proper to maintain by sea and land. He defired they would make fome further progress in difcharging the national debt; contrive effectual expedients for employing the poor; pass good bills for the advancement of trade and discouragement of profaneness; and act with unanimity and dispatch. The commons of this new parliament were fo irritated at the king's prefuming to maintain a greater number of troops than their predecessors had voted, that they resolved he should feel the weight of their displeasure. They omitted the common compliment of an address: They resolved, that all the forces of England, in English pay, exceeding seven thousand men, should be forthwith disbanded; as also those in Ireland, exceeding twelve thousand; and that those retained should be his majesty's natural-born subjects. A bill was brought in on these resolutions, and profecuted with peculiar eagerness, to the unspeakable mortification of king William, who was not only extremely sensible of the affront, but also particularly chagrined to fee himfelf disabled from maintaining his Dutch guards and the regiments of French refugees, to which he was uncommonly attached. Before the meeting of the parliament the ministry gave him to understand, that they should be able to procure a vote for ten or twelve thousand; but they would not undertake for a greater number. He professed himself dissatisfied with the proposal, observing, that they might as well disband the whole as leave fo few. The ministers would not run the rifque of lofing all their credit by proposing a greatet number; and, having received no directions on this fubiect, fat filent when it was debated in the house of commons. and led with the

& XVI. Such was the indignation of William, kindled by the conduct of his ministry and his parliament, that he threatened to abandon the government; and actually Demed

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penned a speech to be pronounced to both houses on that occasion: But he was diverted from this purpose by his ministry and confidents, and resolved to pass the bill by which he had been so much offended. Accordingly. when it was ready for the royal affent, he went to the house of peers, where, having fent for the commons, he told them, that although he might think himself unkindly used, in being deprived of his guards, which had constantly attended him in all his actions; yet, as he believed nothing could be more fatal to the nation thanany distrust or jealousy between him and his parliament, he was come to pass the bill, according to their defire. At the same time, for his own justification and in difcharge of the trust reposed in him, he declared, that in his own judgment the nation was left too much exposed; and that it was incumbent upon them to provide fuch a strength as might be necessary for the safety of the kingdom. They thanked him, in an address, for this undeniable proof of his readiness to comply with the defires of his parliament. They affured him, he should never have reason to think the commons were undutiful or unkind; for they would, on all occasions, stand by, and affift him in the prefervation of his facred person, and in the support of his government, against all his enemies whatfoever. The lords presented an address to the same effect; and the king affured both houses he entertained no doubts of their loyalty and affection. He forthwith iffued orders for reducing the army to the number of feven thousand men, to be maintained in England under the name of Guards and Garrisons; and, hoping the hearts of the commons were now mollified, he made another effort in favour of his Dutch guards, whom he could not dismiss without the most sensible regret. Lord Ranelagh was fent with a written meffage to the commons, giving them to understand, that the necessary preparations were made for transporting the guards who came with him into England; and that they should embark immediately, unless, out of consideration to him, the house should be disposed to find a way for continuing them longer in the service: A favour which Dd 3 101 change month his to! the wear, to be

his majesty would take very kindly. The commons, inflead of complying with his inclination, prefented an addrefs, in which they professed unspeakable grief that he should propose any thing to which they could not confent with due regard to the constitution, which he had come over to restore, and so often hazarded his royal person to preserve. They reminded him of the declaration, in which he had promifed that all the foreign forces should be sent out of the kingdom. They observed, that nothing conduced more to the happiness and welfare of the nation than an entire confidence between the king and people; which could no way be fo firmly established as by entrusting his facred person with his own subjects, who had so eminently fignalized themselves during the late long and expensive war. They received a foothiag answer to this address, but remained firm to their purpose, in which the king was fain to acquiesce; and the Dutch guards were transported to Holland. At a time when they declared themselves so well pleased with their deliverer, such an opposition, in an affair of very little confequence, favoured more of clownish obstinacy than of patriotism. In the midst of all their professions of regard, they entertained a national prejudice against himself, and all the foreigners in his service. Even in the house of commons his person was treated with great difrespect in virulent infinuations. They suggested, that he neither loved nor trusted the English nation: That he treated the natives with the most disagreeable referve; and chose his confidents from the number of strangers that surrounded him: That, after every fethon of parliament, he retired from the kingdom to enjoy an indolent and inglorious privacy with a few favourites. These suggestions were certainly true. He was extremely difgusted with the English, whom he considered as malicious, ignorant, and ungrateful; and he took no pains to disguise his fentiments.

§ XVII. The commons having effected a dissolution of the army, voted fifteen thousand seamen, and a proportionable fleet, for the security of the kingdom: They granted one million four hundred-and-eighty-four thousand fifteen pounds, for the services of the year, to be

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raifed by a tax of three shillings in the pound upon lands, personal estates, pensions, and offices. A great number of priefts and Roman-catholics, who had been frightened away by the revolution, were now encouraged, by the treaty of Ryswick, to return, and appeared in all public places of London and Westminster, with remarkable effrontery. The enemies of the government whifpered about, that the treaty contained a fecret article in favour of those who professed that religion; and some did not even scruple to infinuate, that William was a papift in his heart. The commons, alarmed at the number and infolence of those religionists, defired the king, in an address, to remove, by proclamation, all papists and nonjurors from the city of London and parts adjacent, and put the laws in execution against them, that the wicked defigns they were always hatching might be effectually disappointed. The king gratified them in their request of a proclamation, which was not much regarded: But a remarkable law was enacted against papifts in the course of the ensuing session. The old East India company, about this period, petitioned the lower house to make some provision that their corporation might sublift for the relidue of the term of twenty-one years, granted by his majefty's charter: That the payment of the five pounds per cent, by the late act for letthing the trade to the East Indies, might be fettled and adjusted in such a manner as not to remain a burthen on the petitioners; and that such further confiderations might be had for their relief, and for the preservation of the East India trade, as should be thought reasonable. A bill was brought in upon the subject of this petition; but rejected at the fecond reading. Discontents had arisen to such a height, that some members began to affert, they were not bound to maintain the votes and credit of the former parliament; and, upon this maxim, would have contributed their interest towards a repeal of the act made in favour of the new company: But luch a icheme was of too dangerous confequence to the public credit to be carried into execution.

§ XVIII. That spirit of peevishness, which could not be gratified with this sacrifice, produced an enquiry into

the engagement of naval affairs, which was aimed at the earl of Orford: Anobleman whose power gave umbrage, and whose wealth excited envy. He officiated both as treasurer of the navy, and lord commissioner of the admiralty, and seemed to have forgot the sphere from which he had rifen to title and office. (1699.) The commons drew up an address, complaining of some unimportant articles of milmanagement in the conduct of the navy; and the earl was wife enough to avoid further profecution, by refigning his employments. On the fourth day of May the king closed the fession with a short speech, hinting dissatisfaction at their having neglected to confider fome points which he had recommended to their attention; and the parliament was prorogued to the first of June *. In a little time after this prorogation, his majesty appointed a regency +; and on the second day of June embarked for Holland.

§ XIX. In Ireland nothing of moment was transacted. The parliament of that kingdom passed an act for raising one hundred-and-twenty thousand pounds on lands, tenements, and hereditaments, to defray the expence of maintaining twelve thousand men, who had been voted by the commons of England: Then the affembly was prorogued. A new commission afterwards arrived at Dublin, constituting the duke of Bolton, the earls of Berkeley and Galway lords-justices of Ireland. The clamour in Scotland increased against the ministry, who had disowned their company, and, in a great measure, defeated the defign from which they had promifed themfelves fuch heaps of treasure. Notwithstanding the difcouragements to which their company had been exposed, they fitted out two of four large ships which had been built at Hamburgh for their service. These were laden with a cargo for traffic, with fome artillery and military

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^{*} See note [T] at the end of the volume.

⁺ Confishing of the lord chancellor, the lord-president, the lord privy-feal, the lord steward of the household, the earl of Bridgewater, first commissioner of the admiralty, the earl of Marlborough, the earl of Jerfey, and Mr. Montagu. the blight of the cale adding to the age and the

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flores; and the adventurers embarking, to the number of twelve hundred, they failed from the Frith of Edinburgh, with some tenders, on the seventeenth day of July in the preceding year. At Madeira they took in a supply of wine, and then steered to Crab Island, in the neighbourhood of St. Thomas, lying between Santa Cruz and Porto Rico. Their defign was to take poffession of this little island; but, when they entered the road, they faw a large tent pitched upon the strand, and the Danish colours slying. Finding themselves anticipated in this quarter, they directed their course to the coast of Darien, where they treated with the natives for the establishment of their colony; and taking possession of the ground, to which they gave the name of Caledonia, began to execute their plan of erecting a town under the appellation of New Edinburgh, by the direction of their council, confisting of Patterson the projector, and fix other directors. They had no fooner completed their fettlement, than they wrote a letter to the king, containg a detail of their proceedings. They pretended they had received undoubted intelligence, that the French intended to make a settlement on that coaft; and that their colony would be the means of preventing the evil confequences which might arife to his majesty's kingdom and dominions from the execution of fuch a scheme. They acknowledged his goodne's in granting those privileges by which their company was established: They implored the continuance of his royal favour and protection, as they had punctually adhered to the conditions of the act of parliament and the patent they had obtained.

§ XX. By this time, however, the king was refolved to crush them essectionally. He understood that
the greater part of their provisions had been consumed
before they set sail from Scotland, and foresaw that they
must be reduced to a starving condition, if not supplied
from the English colonies. That they might be debarred
of all such assistance, he sent orders to the governors of
Jamaica, and the other English settlements in America,
to issue proclamations, prohibiting, under the severest

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penalties, all his majesty's subjects from holding any correspondence with the Scottish colony, or affishing it, in any shape, with arms, ammunition, or provision, on pretence that they had not communicated their defign to his majesty, but had peopled Darien, in violation of the peace fubfifting between him and his allies. Their colony was, doubtlefs, a very dangerous encroachment upon the Spaniards, as it would have commanded the passage between Porto Bello and Panama, and divided the Spanish empire in America. The French king complained of the invafion, and offered to supply the court of Madrid with a fleet to dislodge the interlopers. Colonna, marquis de Canales, the Spanish ambassador at the court of London, presented a memorial to king William, remonstrating against the settlement of this colony, as a mark of difregard, and a breach of the alliance between the two crowns; and declaring, that his master would take proper measures against such hostilities. The Scots affirmed, that the natives of Darien were a free people, whom the Spaniards had in vain attempted to subdue: That, therefore, they had an original and incontrovertible right to dispose of their own lands, part of which the company had purchased for a valuable confideration. But there was another cause more powerful than the remonstrances of the Spanish court, to which this colony fell a facrifice; and that was the jealoufy of the English traders and planters. Darien was faid to be a country abounding with gold, which would in a little time enrich the adventurers. The Scots were known to be an enterprifing and pertinacious people; and their harbour, near Golden Island, was already declared a free port. The English apprehended that their planters would be allured into this new colony, by the double prospect of finding gold, and plundering the Spaniards: That the bucaniers, in particular, would choose it as their chief residence: That the plantations of England would be deferted: That Darien would become another Algiers: And, That the fettlement would produce a rupture with Spain, in confequence of which, the English effects in that kingdom would be confiscated.

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cated. The Dutch too, are faid to have been jealous of a company, which in time might have proved their competitors in the illicit commerce to the Spanish Main; and to have hardened the king's heart against the new settlers, whom he abandoned to their fate, notwithstanding the repeated petitions and remonstrances of their. constituents. Famine compelled the first adventurers to quit the coast; a second recruit of men and provisions was fent thither from Scotland; but one of their ships, laden with provision, being burnt by accident, they likewise deserted the place: Another reinforcement arrived, and being better provided than the two former, might have maintained their footing; but they were foon divided into factions that rendered all their schemes abortive. The Spaniards advanced against them; when, finding themselves incapable of withstanding the enemy. they folicited a capitulation; by virtue of which they were permited to retire. Thus vanished all the golden dreams of the Scottish nation, which had engaged in this defign with incredible eagerness, and even embarked a greater fum of money than ever they had advanced upon any other occasion. They were now not only difappointed in their expectations of wealth and affluence, but a great number of families were absolutely ruined by the miscarriage of the design, which they imputed solely to the conduct of king William. The whole kingdom of Scotland seemed to join in the clamour that was raised against her fovereign; taxed him with double-dealing, inhumanity, and base ingratitude to people who had lavished their treasure and best blood in support of his government, and in the gratification of his ambition: And had their power been equal to their animofity, in all probability a rebellion would have enfued.

§ XXI. William, meanwhile, enjoyed himself at Loo, where he was visited by the duke of Zell, with whom he had long cultivated an intimacy of freindship. During his residence in this place, the earl of Portland and the grand pensionary of Holland frequently conferred with the French ambassador, count Tallard, upon the subject of the Spanish succession. The first plan of

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the partition being defeated by the death of the young prince of Bavaria, they found it necessary to concert another, and began a private nogociation for that purpose. The court of Spain, apprised of their intention, fent a written remonstrance to Mr. Stanhope, the English minister at Madrid, expressing their resentment at this unprecedented method of proceeding, and defiring that a ftop might be put to those intrigues, seeing the king of Spain would of himself take the necessary steps for preserving the public tranquillity, in case he should die without heirs of his body. A representation of the fame kind was made to the ministers of France and Holland: The marquis de Canales, the Spanish ambassador at London, delivered a memorial to the lords-justices, couched in the most virulent terms against this transaction, and even appealing from the king to the parliament. This Spaniard was pleafed with an opportunity to infult king William, who hated his person, and had forbid him the court, on account of his appearing covered in his majesty's presence. The regency had no fooner communicated this paper to the king, than he ordered the ambassador to quit the kingdom in eighteen days, and to remain within his own house till the time of his departure. He was likewife given to understand, that no writing would be received from him, or any of his domestics. Mr. Stanhope was directed to complain at Madrid of the affront offered to his mafter, which he filed an infolent and faucy attempt to ftir up fedition in the kingdom, by appealing to the people and parliament of England against his majesty. The court of Spain justified what their minister had done, and, in their turn, ordered Mr. Stanhope to leave their dominions. Don Bernardo de Quiros, the Spanish ambasfador in Holland, prepared a memorial on the same subject to the States-general; which, however, they refused to accept. These remonstrances did not interrupt the negociation, in which Louis was so eager, that he complained of William, as if he had not employed his whole influence in prevailing upon the Dutch to fignify their accession to the articles agreed upon by France and

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& XXII. About the middle of October William returned to England, and conferred upon the duke of Shrewfbury the office of chamberlain, vacant fince the refignation of Sunderland. Mr. Montagu, at the fame period refigned his feat at the treatury-board, together with the chancellorship of the exchequer, either foreseeing uncommon difficulty in managing a house of commons, after they had been difmissed in ill-humour, or dreading the interest of his enemies, who might procure a vote that his two places were inconfiftent. The king opened the fession of parliament, on the fixteenth day of November, with a long speech, advising a further provision for the safety of the kingdom, by sea and land, as well as the repairs of ships and fortifications; exhorting the commons to make good the deficiencies of the funds, discharge the debts of the nation, and provide the necesfary supplies. He recommended some good bill for the more effectually preventing and punishing unlawful and clandestine trading; and expressed a desire, that some method should be taken for employing the poor, which were become a burthen to the kingdom. He affured them his resolutions were to countenance virtue and discourage vice: And that he would decline no difficulties and dangers, where the welfare and prosperity of the nation might be concerned. He concluded with these words: "Since then our aims are only for the general " good, let us act with confidence in one another; " which will not fail, with God's bleffing, to make me " a happy king, and you a great and flourishing people." -The commons were now become wanton in their difgust. Though they had received no real provocation, they refolved to mortify him with their proceedings. They affected to put odious interpretations on the very harmless expression of, "Let us act with confidence in " one another." Instead of an address of thanks, according to the usual custom, they preferred a fullen remonstrance, complaining that a jealoufy and difgust had been raised of their duty and affection; and defiring he Ee

would show marks of his high displeasure towards all persons who had presumed to misrepresent their proceedings to his majesty. He declared, in his answer, that no person had ever dared to misrepresent their proceedings, and, that if any should presume to impose upon him by such calumnies, he would treat them as his worst enemies.

& XXIII. The house was not in a humour to be appealed with foothing promises and protestations; they determined to distress him, by profecuting his ministers. During the war, the colonies of North America had grown rich by piracy. One Kidd, the master of a sloop, undertook to suppress the pirates, provided the government would furnish him with a ship of thirty guns, well manned. The board of admiralty declaring, that fuch a number of feamen could not be spared from the public service, Kidd was equipped by the private subscription of the lord chancellor, the duke of Shrewsbury, the earls of Romney, Orford, and Bellamont, fir Edward Harrison, and colonel Livingstone of New York, The king promised to contribute one-half of the expence, and referved to himself one-tenth of the profits; but he never advanced the money. Kidd being thus equipped, and provided with a commission to act against the French, as well as to make war on certain pirates therein-mentioned by name, fet fail from Plymouth: But, instead of cruising on the coast of America, he directed his course to the East Indies, where he himself turned pirate, and took a rich ship belonging to the Moors. Having divided his booty with his crew, ninety of whom left him, in order to join other adventurers, he burned his own ship, and sailed with his prize to the West Indies. There he purchased a sloop, in which he steered for North America, leaving part of his men in the prize to remain in one of the Leeward Islands, until they should receive further instructions. Arriving on the coast of New York, he fent to one Emmet to make his peace with the earl of Bellamont, the governor of that province, who inveigled him into a negociation, in the course of which he was apprehended.

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lordship sent an account of his proceedings to the secretary of state, defiring that he would fend for the prifoners to England, as there was no law in that colony for punishing piracy with death; and the majority of the people favoured that practice. The admiralty, by order of the lords-justices, dispatched the ship Rochefter to bring home the prisoners and their effects: But, after having been toffed for some time with tempeftuous weather, this veffel was obliged to return to Plymouth in a shattered condition. This incident furmished the malcontents with a colour to paint the mimistry as the authors and abettors of a piratical expedition, which they wanted to screen from the cognizance of the public. The old East India company had complained to the regency of the capture made by Kidd in the East Indies, apprehending, as the vessel belonged to the Moors, they should be exposed to the refentment of the Mogul. In the beginning of December, this subject being brought abruptly into the house of commons, a motion was made, that the letters-patent granted to the earl of Bellamont and others, of pirates goods, were dishonourable to the king, against the laws of nations, contrary to the laws and statutes of the land, invasive of property, and destructive of trade and commerce. A warm debate enfued, in the course of which, some members declaimed with great bitterness against the chancellor and the duke of Shrewfbury, as partners in a piratical scheme: But these imputations were resuted, and the motion was rejected by a great majority. Not but they might have justly stigmatized the expedition as a little mean adventure, in which those noblemen had embarked with a view to their own private advantage.

& XXIV. While this affair was in agitation among the commons, the attention of the upper house was employed upon the case of Dr. Watson, bishop of St. David's. This prelate was supposed to have paid a valuable confideration for his bishopric: And, after his elevation, had fold the preferments in his gift, with a view of being reimburfed. He was accused of simony; and, after a folemn hearing, before the archbishop of

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Canterbury and fix suffragans, convicted and deprived. Then he pleaded his privilege; so that the affair was brought into the house of lords, who refused to own him as a peer after he had ceased to be a bishop. Thus disappointed, he had recourse to the court of delegates, by whom the archbishop's sentence was consirmed. The next effort that the commons made, with a view of mortifying king William, was to raife a clamour against Dr. Burnet, bishop of Sarum. He was represented in the house as a very unfit preceptor for the duke of Gloucester, both as a Scottish man, and author of that pastoral letter which had been burned by order of the parliament, for afferting that William had a right to the. crown from conquest. A motion was made for addreffing his majesty, that this prelate might be dismissed from his employment; but rejected by a great majority. Burnet had acted with uncommon integrity in accepting the trust. He had declined the office, which he was in a manner forced to accept. He had offered to refign his bishopric, thinking the employment of a tutor would interfere with the duty of a pastor. He insisted upon the duke's residence all the summer at Windsor, which is in the diocese of Sarum; and added to his private charities the whole income of his new office.

& XXV. The circumstance on which the anti-courtiers built their chief hope of distressing or disgracing the government, was the enquiry into the Irish forfeitures, which the king had distributed among his own dependents. The commissioners appointed by parliament to examine these particulars, were Annelley, Trenchard, Hamilton, Langford, the earl of Drogheda, fir Francis Brewster, and fir Richard Leving, The first four were actuated by all the virulence of faction; the other three were fecretly guided by ministerial influence. began their enquiry in Ireland, and proceeded with fuch feverity, as feemed to flow rather from refentment to the court than from a love of justice and abhorrence of corruption. They in particular fcrutinized a grant of an estate which the king had made to Mrs. Villiers, now counters of Orkney, so as to expose his majesty's parti-

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ality for that favourite, and subject him to an additional load of popular odium. In the course of their examination the earl of Drogheda, Leving, and Brewster, opposed the rest of the commissioners in divers articles of the report, which they refused to fign; and fent over a memorial to the house of commons, explaining their reafons for diffenting from their colleagues. By this time, however, they were confidered as hirelings of the court, and no regard was paid to their representations. The others delivered their report, declaring, that a million and a half of money might be raifed from the fale of the conficated estates; and a bill was brought in for applying them to the use of the public. A motion being made to referve a third part for the king's disposal, it was overruled. Then the commons passed an extraordinary vote, importing, that they would not receive any petition from any person whatsoever concerning the grants; and, that they would consider the great services performed by the commissioners appointed to enquire into the forfeited estates. They resolved, That the four commissioners, who had figned the report, had acquitted themselves with understanding, courage, and integrity; and, That fir Richard Leving, as author of groundless and scandalous afperfions, cast upon his four colleagues, should be committed prisoner to the Tower. They afterwards came to the following refolution, which was prefented to the king in form of an address: That the procuring and passing those grants had occasioned great debts upon the nation, and heavy taxes upon the people, and highly reflected upon the king's honour; and, That the officers and instruments concerned in the same, had highly failed in the performance of their trust and duty. The king answered, That he was not only led by inclination, but thought himself obliged in justice to reward those who had served well in the reduction of Ireland out of the estates forfeited to him by the rebellion in that kingdom. He observed, that as the long war had left the nation much in debt, their taking just and effectual ways for lessening that debt, and supporting public credit, was what, in his opinion, would best contribute to the hooranem of ploud sleabers and nour,

nour, interest, and safety of the kingdom. This answer kindled a slame of indignation in the house. They forthwith resolved, That the adviser of it had used his utmost endeavours to create a misunderstanding and jealousy be-

tween the king and his people.

& XXVI. They prepared, finished, and passed a bill of refumption. They ordered the report of the commissioners, together with the king's promise and speeches, and the former resolutions of the house touching the forfeited estates in Ireland, to be printed and published for their justification; and they resolved, That the procuring of patting exorbitant grants by any member, now of the privy-council, or by any other that had been a privycounsellor, in this, or any former reign, to his use or benefit, was a high crime and mildemeanor. That justice might be done to purchasers and creditors in the act of refumption, thirteen trustees were authorised and empowered to hear and determine all claims relating to those estates; to sell them to the best purchasers; and the money arising from the sale was appropriated to pay the arrears of the army. It paffed under the title of a bill for granting an aid to his majesty by the sale of forfeited and other estates and interests in Ireland; and that it might undergo no alterations in the house of lords, it was confolidated with the money bill for the fervice of the year. In the house of lords it produced warm debates; and some alterations were made, which the commons unanimously rejected. They seemed to be now more than ever exasperated against the ministry, and ordered a lift of the privy-council to be laid before the house. The lards demanded conferences, which served only to exasperate the two houses against each other; for the peers infifted upon their amendments; and the commons were so provoked at their interfering in a money bill, that they determined to give a loofe to their refentment. They ordered all the doors of their house to be shut, that no members should go forth. they took into confideration the report of the Irish forfeitures, with the lift of the privy-counsellors; and a question was moved. That an address should be made to his

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his majesty to remove John lord Somers, chancellor of England, from his presence and councils for ever. This, however, was carried in the negative by a great majo-The king was extremely chagrined at the bill, which he confidered as an invafion of his prerogative, an infult on his person, and an injury to his friends and fervants; and he at first resolved to hazard all the consequences of refuling to pals it into a law: But he was diverted from his purpose by the remonstrances of those in whom he chiefly confided. He could not, however, diffemble his refentments. He became fullen, peevish, and morose; and his enemies did not fail to make use of this additional ill humour, as a proof of his aversion to the English people. Though the motion against the chancellor had miscarried, the commons resolved to address his majesty, that no person who was not a native of his dominions, except his royal highness prince George of Denmark, should be admitted into his majesty's councils in England or Ireland. This resolution was levelled against the earls of Portland, Albemarle, and Galway: But, before the address could be presented, the king went to the house of peers, and having passed the bill which had produced fuch a ferment, with fome others, commanded the earl of Bridgwater, speaker of the house. in the absence of the chancellor, who was indisposed, to prorogue the parliament to the twenty-third day of

(1700.) § XXVII. In the course of this session the commons, having prosecuted their enquiry into the conduct of Kidd, brought in a bill for the more essectual suppressing of piracy; which passed into a law. Understanding afterwards that Kidd was brought over to England, they presented an address to the king, desiring that he might not be tried, discharged, or pardoned, till the next session of parliament; and his majesty complied with their request. Boiling still with indignation against the lord chancellor, who had turned many disassected persons out of the commission of the peace, the house ordered a bill to be prepared for qualifying justices of the peace; and appointed a committee to inspect the com-

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This, reporting that many diffenters and men of small fortunes, depending on the court, were put into those places, the commons declared, in an address, That it would much conduce to the fervice of his majesty and the good of this kingdom, that gentlemen of quality and good estates should be restored, and put into the commisfions of the peace and lieutenancy: And that men of fmall estates be neither continued, nor put into the faid commissions. The king affured them he was of the same opinion; and that he would give directions accordingly. They were fo mollified with this instance of his condescenhon, that they thanked him in a body for his gracious answer. They passed a bill to exculpate such as had neglected to fign the affociation, either through mistake, or want of opportunity. Having received a petition from the Lancashire clergy, complaining of the infolence and attempts of popilh priefts, they appointed a committee to enquire how far the laws against popish refugees had been put in execution; and upon the report a bill was brought in, complying with the prayer of the petition. It decreed a further reward to fuch perfons as should discover and convict popish priests and Jefuits; and perpetual imprisonment for those convicted on the oath of one or more witnesses. It enacted, That no person, born after the twenty-fifth day of March next enfuing, being a papift, should be capable of inheriting any title of honour or estate within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed; and, That no papift should be capable of purchafing any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, either in his own name, or in the name of any other person in truft for him. Several alterations were made in this first draft before it was finished and sent up to the lords, some of whom proposed amendments: These, however, were not adopted; and the bill obtained the royal affent, contrary to the expectation of those who prosecuted the meafure, on the supposition that the king was a favourer of the papifts. After all, the bill was deficient in necessary clauses to enforce execution; fo that the law was very little regarded in the fequel. XXVIII.

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& XXVIII. The court-fustained another infult from the old East India company, who petitioned the house that they might be continued by parliamentary authority during the remaining part of the time prescribed in their charter. They, at the same time, published a state of their case; in which they expatiated upon the equity of their claims, and magnified the injuries they had undergone. The new company drew up an answer to this remonstrance, exposing the corrupt practices of their adversaries. But the influence of their great patron, Mr. Montagu, was now vanished: The supply was not yet discussed; and the ministry would not venture to provoke. the commons, who seemed propitious to the old company, and actually passed a bill in their favour. meeting with no opposition in the upper house, was enacted into a law, renewing their establishment: So that now there were two rival companies of merchants trading to the East Indies. The commons, not yet fatisfied with the vexations to which they had exposed. their fovereign, paffed a bill to appoint commissioners for taking and examining the public accounts. Another law was made, to prohibit the use of India silks and fuffs, which interfered with the English manufactures: A third, to take off the duties on the exportation of woollen manufactures, corn, grain, meal, bread, and bilcuit: And a fourth, in which provision was made for punishing governors or commanders in chief of plantations and colonies, in case they should commit any crimes or acts of injustice and oppression in the exercise of their administration.

§ XXIX. The people of Scotland still continued in violent agitation. They published a pamphlet, containing a detail of their grievances; which they in a great measure ascribed to his majesty. A complaint being preserved to the house of commons against this performance, it was voted a false, scandalous, and traiterous libel, and ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. The commons addressed his majesty to issue his royal proclamation for apprehending the author, printer, and publisher of the said libel; and he

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complied with their request. The Scottish company had fent up an address to the king in behalf of some adventurers, who were wrongfully detained prisoners in Carthagena: But lord Bafil Hamilton, who undertook the charge of this petition, was refused admittance to his majefty, on pretence of his being suspected of disaffection to the government. The king, however, wrote to his council for Scotland, that he would demand the enlargement of the prisoners, and countenance any laudable measure that could advance the trade of that kingdom. The directors of the company, not content with this declaration, importuned the lord chancellor, who was in London, to procure access for lord Basil Hamilton; and the ministry took shelter from their solicitations behind a parliamentary enquiry. The subject of the Scottish colony being introduced into the house of lords, where the ministerial influence preponderated, a vehement debate arose, not from any regard to the interest of Scotland, but from mere opposition to the court; which, however, triumphed in the issue. A motion was made. That the Scotch colony at Darien was inconfishent with the good of the plantation-trade of England; and passed in the affirmative by a small majority. Then they prefented an address, declaring their sympathy with the loffes of their fellow-subjects, and their opinion, that a profecution of the defign must end not only in far greater difappointments to themselves, but also prove very inconvenient to the trade and quiet of the kingdom. They reminded him of the address of both houses touching that fettlement; and they expressed their approbation of the orders he had fent to the governors of the plantations on this subject. The king, in his answer to the address, in which the commons refused to concur, took the opportunity of exhorting them to consider of an union between the two kingdoms, as a measure than which nothing could more contribute to their mutual fecurity and advantage. The lords, in pursuance of this advice, prepared a bill, appointing certain commissioners of the realm of England to treat with commissioners of Scotland for the weal of both kingdoms: But it was obsa box ribuil bisi sali to 191

he needful for fructed in the house of commons, who were determined to thwart every step that might tend to lessen the disgust or appeale the animolity of the Scottish nation. The malcontents infinuated, that the king's opposition to the Scottish company flowed neither from his regard to the interest of England, nor from his punctual observance of treaties with Spain; but folely from his attachment to the Dutch, who maintained an advantageous trade from the island of Curacoa to the Spanish plantations in America, and were apprehensive that the Scottish company would deprive them of this commerce. This interpretation ferved as fuel to the flame already kindled in Scotland, and industriously blown up by the calumnies of the Jacobites. Their parliament adopted the company as a national concern, by voting, That the colony of Caledonia, in Darien, was a legal and rightful fettlement, which the parliament would maintain and support. On account of this resolution the session was for some time discontinued: But, when the Scots understood their new fettlement was totally abandoned, their capital loft, and all their hope entirely vanished, the whole nation was seized with a transport of fury. They loudly exclaimed, that they had been facrificed and basely betrayed in that quarter, where they were entitled to protection. They concerted an address to the king, couched in a very high strain, representing the necessity of an immediate parliament. It was circulated about the kingdom for fubscriptions, figned by a great number of those who sat in parliament, and presented to the king by lord Ross, who, with fome others, was deputed for that purpofe. The king told them, they should know his intention in Scotland; and, in the mean time, adjourned their parliament by proclamation. The people, exasperated at this new provocation, began to form the draft of a fecond national address, to be figned by the shires and boroughs of the kingdom: But, before this could be finished, the king wrote a letter to the duke of Queensberry, and the privy-council of that nation; which was published for the fatisfaction of the people. He professed himself grieved at the nation's loss, and willing to grant what might

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might be needful for the relief and eafe of the kingdom. He affured them he had their interest at heart; and that his good subjects should have convincing proofs of his fincere inclination to advance the wealth and prosperity of that his ancient kingdom. He faid, he hoped this declaration would be fatisfactory to all good men: That they would not fuffer themfelves to be misled; nor give advantage to enemies and ill-defigning persons, ready to feize every opportunity of embroiling the government. He gave them to understand, that his necessary absence had occasioned the late adjournment; but as soon as God should bring him back, their parliament should be affembled. Even this explanation, seconded by all the credit and address of his ministers, failed in allaying the national ferment, which rose to the very verge of rebellion.

& XXX. The king, who, from his first accession to the throne, had veered occasionally from one party to another, according to the circumstances of his affairs and the opposition he encountered, was at this period so incensed and embarrassed by the caprice and insolence of the commons, that he willingly lent an ear to the leaders of the Tories, who undertook to manage the parliament according to his pleasure, provided he would part with forme of his ministers, who were peculiarly odious to the commons. The person against whom their anger was chiefly directed was the lord chancellor Somers, the most active leader of the Whig party. They demanded his difinition; and the king exhorted him to refign his office: But he refusing to take any step that might indicate a fear of his enemies, or a consciousness of guilt, the king fent a peremptory order for the feals by the lord Jersey, to whom Somers delivered them without hefitation. They were successively offered to lord chief-justice Holt, and Trevor, the attorney-general, who declined accepting fuch a precarious office. Meanwhile the king granted a temporary commission to three judges to sit in the court of chancery; and at length bestowed the scals, with the title of lord keeper, on Nathan Wright, one of the ferjeants at law : A man but indifferently qualified for

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the office, to which he was now preferred. Though William seemed altogether attached to the Tories, and inclined to a new parliament, no person appeared to take the lead in the affairs of government; and, indeed, for some time, the administration seemed to be under no particular direction.

& XXXI. During the transactions of the last session. the negociation for a fecond partition-treaty had been carried on in London by the French minister Tallard. in conjunction with the earls of Portland and Jersey. and was foon brought to perfection. On the twentyfirst day of February the treaty was signed in London; and on the twenty-fifth of the next month it was fubfcribed at the Hague by Briord, the French envoy, and the plenipotentiaries of the States-General. By this convention the treaty of Ryswick was confirmed. The contracting parties agreed, That, in case of his catholic majesty's dying without iffue, the dauphin should posfess, for himself and his heirs, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the islands of St. Stephano, Porto Hercole, Orbitello, Telamore, Porto Longone, Piombino, the city and marquifate of Final, the province of Guipuscoa, the duchies of Lorraine and Bar; in exchange f r which last the duke of Lorraine should enjoy the duchy of Milan; but that the county of Biche should remain in fovereignty to the prince of Vaudemont: That the archduke Charles should inherit the kingdom of Spain and all its dependencies in and out of Europe; but, in case of his dying without iffue, it should devolve to some other child of the emperor, excepting him who might fucceed as emperor or king of the Romans: That this monarchy should never descend to a king of France or dauphin: And that three months should be allowed to the emperor to confider whether or not he would accede to this treaty. Whether the French king was really fincere in his professions at this juncture, or proposed this treaty with a view to make a clandestine use of it at the court of Spain for more interested purposes, it is not ealy to determine; at first, however, it was concealed from the notice of the public, as if the parties had re-Ff VOL. I. folved

folved to take no step in consequence of it, during the

life of his catholic majefty.

§ XXXII. In the beginning of July the king embarked for Holland, after having appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence. On the twenty-ninth day of the same month, the young duke of Gloucester, the only remaining child of feventeen which the princess Anne had borne, died of a malignant fever, in the eleventh year of his age. His death was much lamented by the greater part of the English nation, not only on account of his promifing talents and gentle behaviour, but alfo, as it left the fuccession undetermined, and might create disputes of fatal consequence to the nation. The Jacobites openly exulted in an event which they imagined would remove the chief bar to the interest of the prince of Wales: But the protestants generally turned their eyes upon the princess Sophia, electress dowager of Hanover, and grand-daughter of James I. It was with a view to concert the establishment of her succession that the court of Brunswick now returned the visit of king William. The present state of affairs in England, however, afforded a very uncomfortable prospect. The people were generally alienated from the person and government of the reigning king, upon whom they feemed to have furfeited. The vigour of their minds was destroyed by luxury and floth: The feverity of their morals was relaxed by a long habit of venality and corruption. The king's health began to decline, and even his faculties decayed apace. No person was appointed to ascend the throne when it should become vacant. The Jacobite faction alone was eager, vigilant, enterprising, and elate. They dispatched Mr. Graham, brother of lord Preston, to the court of St. Germain immediately after the death of the duke of Gloucester: They began to bestir themtelves all over the kingdom. A report was spread that the princess Anne had privately sent a message to her father; and Britain was once more threatened with civil war, confusion, anarchy, and ruin.

§ XXXIII. In the mean time, king William was not inactive. The kings of Denmark and Poland, with the

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elector of Brandenburgh, had formed a league to crush the young king of Sweden, by invading his dominions on different fides. The Poles actually entered Livonia, and undertook the fiege of Riga: The king of Denmark, having demolished some forts in Holstein, the duke of which was connected with Sweden, invested Tonninghen. The Swedish minister in England demanded that assistance of William which had been stipulated in a late renewal of the ancient treaty between England and Sweden. The states of Holland were solicited to the same purpose. Accordingly, a fleet of thirty fail, English and Dutch, was fent to the Baltic, under the command of fir George Rooke, who joined the Swedish fquadron, and bombarded Copenhagen, to which the Danish fleet had retired. At the same time, the duke of Lunenbourg, with the Swedish forces, which happened to be at Bremen, passed the Elbe, and marched to the affiftance of the duke of Holstein. The Danes immediately abandoned the fiege of Tonninghen; and a body of Saxons, who had made an irruption into the territories of the duke of Brunswick, were obliged to retreat in disorder. By the mediation of William a negociation was begun for a treaty between Sweden and Denmark. which in order to quicken, Charles the young king of Sweden made a descent upon the Isle of Zealand. This was executed with great fuccefs. Charles was the first man who landed; and here he exhibited fuch marks of courage and conduct, far above his years, as equally astonished and intimidated his adversaries. Then he determined to befiege Copenhagen: a refolution that struck fuch terror into the Danes, that they proceeded with redoubled diligence in the treaty; which was brought to a conclusion, between Denmark, Sweden, and Holstein, about the middle of August. Then the Swedes retired to Schonen; and the fquadrons of the maritime powers returned from the Baltic.

§ XXXIV. When the new partition-treaty was communicated by the ministers of the contracting parties to the other powers of Europe, it generally met with a very unfavourable construction. Saxony and the northern

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crowns were still embroiled with their own quarrels, confequently could not give much attention to fuch a remote transaction. The princes of Germany appeared cautious and dilatory in their answers, unwilling to be concerned in any plan that might excite the refentment of the house of Austria. The elector of Brandenburgh, in particular, had fet his heart upon the regal dignity, which he hoped to obtain from the favour and authority of the emperor. The Italian states were averse to the partition-treaty, from their apprehension of seeing France in possession of Naples and other districts of their country. The duke of Savoy affected a mysterious neutrality, in hopes of being able to barter his confent for fome confiderable advantage. The Swifs cantons declined acceding as guarantees. The emperor expressed his astonishment that any disposition should be made of the Spanish monarchy without the confent of the prefent possessor, and the states of the kingdom. He observed, that neither justice nor decorum could warrant the contracting powers to compel him, who was the rightful heir, to accept a part of his inheritance within three months, under the penalty of forfeiting even that share to a third person, not vet named: And he declared that he could take no final resolution until he should know the sentiments of his catholic majesty on an affair in which their mutual interest was so nearly concerned. Leopold was actually engaged in a negociation with the king of Spain, who figned a will in favour of his fecond fon Charles: Yet he took no measure to support the disposition, either by sending the archduke with a fufficient force to Spain, or by detaching troops into Italy.

§ XXXV. The people of Spain were exasperated at the insolence of the three foreign powers, who pretended to parcel out their dominions. Their pride took the alarm at the prospect of their monarchy being dismembered; and their grandees repined at the thought of losing so many lucrative governments which they now enjoyed. The king's life became every day more and more precarious, from frequent returns of his disorder. The ministry was weak and divided, the nobility fac-

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tious, and the people discontented. The hearts of the nation had been alienated from the house of Austria by the infolent carriage and rapacious disposition of the queen Mariana. The French had gained over to their interests the cardinal Portocarrero, the marquis de Montercy, with many other noblemen and perfons of distinction. These, perceiving the sentiments of the people, employed their emissaries to raise a general cry that France alone could maintain the fuccession entire: That the house of Austria was feeble and exhausted. and any prince of that line must owe his chief support to detestable heretics. Portocarrero tampered with the weakness of his fovereign. He repeated and exaggerated all these suggestions: He advised him to consult pope Innocent XII. upon this momentous point of regulating the fuccession. The pontiff, who was a creature of France, having taken the advice of a college of cardinals, determined that the renunciation of Maria Therefa. was invalid and null, as being founded upon compulsion, and contrary to the fundamental laws of the Spanish monarchy. He therefore exhorted king Charles to contribute to the propagation of the faith and the repose of Christendom, by making a new will in favour of a grandfon of the French monarch. This admonition was feconded by the remonstrances of Portocarrero; and the weak prince complied with the proposal. In the mean time the king of France seemed to act heartily as a principal in the treaty of partition. His ministers at foreign courts co-operated with those of the maritime powers in foliciting the accession of the different potentates in Europe. When count Zinzendorf, the Imperial ambaffador at Paris, prefented a memorial, defiring to know what part France would act, should the king of Spain voluntarily place a grandson of Louis upon the throne, the marquis de Torcy answered in writing, that his most christian majesty would by no means listen to such a propofal. Nay, when the emperor's minister gave them to understand that his master was ready to begin a separate negociation with the court of Verfailles, touching the Ff3

Spanish succession, Louis declared he could not treat on that subject without the concurrence of his allies.

& XXXVI. The nature of the partition-treaty was no fooner known in England, than condemned by the most intelligent part of the nation. They first of all complained, that fuch an important affair should be concluded without the advice of parliament. They observed, that the scheme was unjust, and the execution of it hazardous: That, in concerting the terms, the maritime powers feemed to have acted as partizans of France; for the poffethon of Naples and the Tuscan ports would subject Italy to her dominion, and interfere with the English trade to the Levant and Mediterranean; while Guipufcoa, on any future rupture, would afford another inlet into the heart of the Spanish dominions: They, for these reasons, pronounced the treaty destructive of the balance of power, and prejudicial to the interest of England. All these arguments were trumpeted by the malcontents, so that the whole kingdom echoed with the clamour of disaffection. Sir Christopher Musgrave, and others of the Tory faction, began to think in earnest of establishing the fuccession of the English crown upon the person of the prince of Wales. They are faid to have fent over Mr. Graham to St. Germain's with overtures to this purpose; and an affurance that a motion would be made in the house of commons to pass a vote that the crown should not be supported in the execution of the partitiontreaty. King William was not ignorant of the censure he had undergone, and not a little alarmed to find himfelf fo unpopular among his own fubjects. That he might be the more able to bestow his attention effectually upon the affairs of England, he refolved to take some measures for the satisfaction of the Scottish nation. He permitted the parliament of that kingdom to meet on the twenty-eighth day of October, and wrote a letter to them from his house at Loo, containing an affurance that he would concur in every thing that could be reafonably proposed for maintaining and advancing the peace and welfare of their kingdom. He promised to give his royal affent to fuch acts as they should frame for the

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better establishment of the presbyterian discipline; for preventing the growth of popery; suppressing vice and immorality; encouraging piety and virtue; preferving and fecuring perfonal liberty; regulating and advancing trade; retrieving the losses and promoting the interest of their African and Indian companies. He expressed his concern that he could not affert the company's right of establishing a colony at Darien, without disturbing the peace of Christendom, and entailing a ruinous war on that his ancient kingdom. He recommended unanimity and dispatch in raising competent taxes for their own defence; and told them he had thought fit to continue the duke of Queensberry in the office of high commissioner. Notwithstanding this soothing address, the national refentment continued to rage, and the parliament feemed altogether intractable. By this time the company had received certain tidings of the entire furrender of their fettlement; and on the first day of the session they reprefented to parliament, that, for want of due protection abroad, some persons had been encouraged to break in upon their privileges even at home. This remonstrance was fucceeded by another national address to the king, who told them he could not take any further notice of that affair, fince the parliament was now affembled; and he had already made a declaration, with which he hoped all his faithful subjects would be satisfied. Nevertheless, he found it absolutely necessary to practise other expedients for allaying the ferment of that nation. His ministers and their agents bestirred themselves so successfully, that the heats in parliament were entirely cooled, and the outcry of the people subsided into unavailing murmurs. The parliament refolved, That in confideration of their great deliverance by his majesty, and as, next under God, their safety and happiness wholly depended on his prefervation and that of his government, they would support both to the utmost of their power, and maintain fuch forces as should be requisite for those ends. They paffed an act for keeping on foot three thousand men for two years, to be maintained by a land-Then the commissioner produced the king's letter, defiring

defiring to have eleven hundred men on his own account to the first day of June following: They forthwith complied with his request, and were prorogued to the fixth of May. The supernumerary troops were sent over to the States-General; and the earl of Argyle was honoured with the title of duke, as a recompense for having concurred with the commissioners in managing this session

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XXXVII. King William returned from England on the eighteenth day of October, not a little chagrined at the perplexities in which he found himself involved; and in the beginning of the next month he received advice that the king of Spain was actually dead. He could not be furprifed at this event, which had been fo long expected; but it was attended with a circumstance which he had not foreseen. Charles, by his last will, had declared the duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, the fole heir of the Spanish monarchy. In case this prince should die without iffue, or inherit the crown of France, he willed that Spain should devolve to the duke of Berry; in default of him and children, to the archduke Charles and his heirs; failing of whom, to the duke of Savoy and his posterity. He likewise recommended a match between the duke of Anjou and one of the archduchesses. When this testament was first notified to the French court, Louis seemed to hesitate between his inclination and engagements to William and the States-General. Madame de Maintenon is faid to have joined her influence to that of the dauphin, in perfuading the king to accept of the will; and Pontchartrain was engaged to support the same measure. A cabinetcouncil was called in her apartment. The rest of the ministry declared for the treaty of partition: The king affected a kind of neutrality. The dauphin spoke for his fon with an air of resolution he had never assumed before: Pontchartrain seconded his argument: Madame de Maintenon asked, What the duke of Anjou had done to provoke the king, that he should be barred of his right to that succession? Then the rest of the members espoused the dauphin's opinion; and the king owned himfelf

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himself convinced by their reasons. In all probability the decision of this council was previously settled in private. After the will was accepted, Louis closeted the duke of Anjou, to whom he faid, in the presence of the marquis des Rois, "Sir, the king of Spain has made you " a king. The grandees demand you; the people wish " for you; and I give my confent. Remember only, " you are a prince of France. I recommend to you to " love your people, to gain their affection by the lenity " of your government, and to render yourfelf worthy of " the throne you are going to ascend." The new monarch was congratulated on his elevation by all the princes of the blood: Nevertheless the duke of Orleans and his fon protested against the will, because the archduke was placed next in fuccession to the duke of Berry, in bar of their rights as descendants of Anne of Austria, whose renunciation could be of no more force than that of Maria Therefa. On the fourth day of December the new king fet out for Spain; to the frontiers of which he was accompanied by his two brothers.

& XXXVIII. When the will was accepted, the French minister De Torcy endeavoured to justify his master's conduct to the earl of Manchester, who resided at Paris in the character of ambassador from the court of London. He observed, That the treaty of partition was not likely to answer the end for which it had been concerted: That the emperor had refused to accede: That it was relished by none of the princes to whom it had been communicated: That the people of England and Holland had expressed their discontent at the prospect of France's being in poffession of Naples and Sicily: That if Louis had rejected the will, the archduke would have had a double title, derived from the former will and that of the late king. That the Spaniards were so averse to the division of their monarchy, there would be a necessity for conquering the whole kingdom before the treaty could be executed: That the ships to be furnished by Great Britain and Holland would not be fufficient for the purposes of such a war; and it was doubtful whether England and the States-General would engage them-

felves in a greater expence. He concluded with faying. That the treaty would have been more advantageous to France than the will, which the king accepted purely from a defire of preserving the peace of Europe. His mafter hoped, therefore, that a good understanding would fubfift between him and the king of Great Britain. The same reasons were communicated by Briod. the French ambaffador at the Hague, to the States-General. Notwithstanding this address, they ordered their envoy at Paris to deliver a memorial to the French king, expressing their surprise at his having accepted the will; and their hope, that as the time specified for the emperor's acceding to the treaty was not expired, his most christian majesty would take the affair again into his confideration, and adhere to his engagements in every article. Louis, in his answer to this memorial, which he dispatched to all the courts of Europe, declared, That what he chiefly confidered was the principal defign of the contracting parties, namely, the maintenance of peace in Europe; and that, true to his principle, he only departed from the words, that he might the better adhere to the fpirit of the treaty.

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& XXXIX. With this answer he fent a letter to the States, giving them to understand that the peace of Europe was fo firmly established by the will of the king of Spain, in favour of his grandson, that he did not doubt their approbation of his fuccession to the Spanish crown. The States observed, that they could not declare themfelves upon an affair of fuch confequence without confulting their respective provinces. Louis admitted the excuse, and affured them of his readiness to concur with whatever they should defire for the security of the Spanish Netherlands. The Spanish ambassador at the Hague presented them with a letter from his new master, who likewise notified his accession to all the powers of Europe, except the king of England. The emperor loudly exclaimed against the will, as being more iniquitous than the treaty of partition; and threatened to do himself justice by force of arms. . The Spaniards, apprehending that a league would be formed between his Imperial

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Imperial majesty and the maritime powers for setting aside the succession of the duke of Anjou, and, conscious of their own inability to defend their dominions, refigned themselves entirely to the protection of the French monarch. The towns in the Spanish Netherlands and the duchy of Milan admitted French garrisons: A French fquadron anchored in the port of Cadiz; and another was detached to the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. Part of the Dutch army that was quartered in Luxembourg, Mons, and Namur were made prisoners of war, because they would not own the king of Spain, whom their masters had not yet acknowledged. The States were overwhelmed with confernation by this event, especially when they considered their own naked fituation, and reflected that the Spanish garrisons might fall upon them before they could affemble a body of troops for their defence. The danger was so imminent, that they refolved to acknowledge the king of Spain without further hefitation, and wrote a letter to the French king for that purpose: This was no sooner received, than orders were iffued for fending back their

§ XL. How warmly foever king William refented the conduct of the French king, in accepting the will fo diametrically opposite to his engagements, he dissembled his chagrin, and behaved with fuch referve and apparent indifference, that some people naturally believed he had been privy to the transaction. Others imagined that he was discouraged from engaging in a new war by his bodily infirmities, which daily increased, as well as by the opposition of parliament, to which he should be inevitably exposed. But his real aim was to conceal his fentiments until he should have founded the opinions of other powers in Europe, and feen how far he could depend upon his new ministry. He now seemed to repose his chief confidence in the earl of Rochester, who had undertaken for the Tories, and was declared lord-heutenant of Ireland. Lord Godolphin was appointed first commissioner of the treasury, lord Tankerville succeeded lord Lonfdale, lately deceased, as a keeper of the privy-

feal;

feal; and fir Charles Hedges was declared fecretary of flate, in the room of the earl of Jersey: But the management of the commons was entrusted to Mr. Robert Harley, who had hitherto opposed the measures of the court with equal virulence and ability. These new undertakers, well knowing they should find it very difficult, if not impossible, to secure a majority in the present parliament, prevailed on the king to diffolve it by proclamation: Then the theriffs were changed according to their nomination, and writs issued for a new parliament to meet on the fixth day of February. During this interval count Wratislaw arrived in England, as ambassador from the emperor, to explain Leopold's title to the Spanish monarchy, supported by repeated entails and renunciations, confirmed in the most folemn treaties. The minister met with a very cold reception from those who flood at the helm of affairs. They fought to avoid all connexions that might engage their country as a principal in another war upon the continent, finarting as they were from the loffes and incumbrances which the last had entailed upon them and their posterity. feemed to think that Louis, rather than involve himfelf in fresh troubles, would give all the fecurity that could be defired for maintaining the peace of Europe; or even, should this be refused, they saw no reason for Britain's exhausting her wealth and strength to support a chimerical balance, in which her interest was but remotely concerned. It was their opinion, that, by keeping aloof, the might render herfelf more respectable. Her reserve would overawe contending powers: They would, in their turn, fue for her affistance, and implore her good offices; and, instead of declaring herself a party, she would have the honour to decide as arbitress of their disputes. Perhaps they extended this idea too far; and, in all probability, their notions were enflamed by a spirit of faction. They hated the Whigs as their political adverfaries, and detefted the war, because it had been countenanced and supported by the interest of that party. The king believed that a conjunction of the two monarchies of France and Spain would prove fatal to the liber-

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ties of Europe; and that this could not be prevented by any other method than a general union of the other European powers. He certainly was an enthusiast in his fentiments of this equilibrium; and fully convinced that he himself, of all the potentates in Christendom, was the only prince capable of adjusting the balance. The Imperial ambaffador could not, therefore, be long ignorant of his real purpose, as he conversed with the Dutch favourites, who knew and approved of their master's design, though he avoided a declaration, until he should have rendered his ministers more propitious to his aim. The true fecret, however, of that referve with which count Wratislaw was treated at his first arrival, was a private negociation which the king had fet on foot with the regency of Spain, touching a barrier in the Netherlands. He proposed, that certain towns should be garrisoned with English and Dutch troops, by way of fecuring against the ambitious designs of France: But the regency were fo devoted to the French interest. that they refused to listen to any proposal of this nature. While this affair was in agitation, William refolved to maintain a wary distance from the emperor; but when his effort miscarried, the ambassador found him much more open and accessible *.

§ XLI. The parliament meeting on the fixth, was prorogued to the tenth of February, when Mr. Harley was chosen speaker by a great majority, in opposition to fir Richard Onslow. The king had previously told fir Thomas Lyttleton, it would be for his service that he should yield his pretensions to Harley at this juncture; and that gentleman agreed to absent himself from the house on the day of election. The king observed, in his speech, That the nation's loss in the death of the duke of Gloucester, had rendered it absolutely necessary for them to make further provision for the succession of the crown in the protestant line: That the death of the king of Spain had made such an alteration in the affairs of the continent, as required their mature delibe-

^{*} See note [U] at the end of the volume.

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ration. The rest of his harangue turned upon the usual topics of demanding supplies for the ensuing year; reminding them of the deficiencies and public debts, recommending to their enquiry the state of the navy and fortifications; exhorting them to encourage commerce, employ the poor, and proceed with vigour and unanimity in all their deliberations. Though the elections had been generally carried in favour of the Tory interest, the ministry had secured but one part of that faction. Some of the most popular leaders, such as the duke of Leeds, the marquis of Normandy, the earls of Nottingham, Seymour, Musgrave, Howe, Finch, and Showers, had been either neglected or found refractory, and refolved to oppose the court measures with all their influence. Befides, the French king, knowing that the peace of Europe would in a great measure depend on the refolutions of the English parliament, is faid to have diftributed great fums of money in England, by means of his minister Tallard, in order to strengthen the oppofition in the house of commons. Certain it is, the nation abounded, at this period, with the French coins called Louis d'or and pistoles; but whether this redundancy was owing to a balance of trade in favour of England, or to the largesses of Louis, we shall not pretend to determine. We may likewise observe, that the infamous practice of bribing electors had never been fo flagrant as in the choice of representatives for this parliament. This scandalous traffic had been chiefly carried on by the Whig party, and, therefore, their antagonists refolved to spare no pains in detecting their corruption. Sir Edward Seymour distinguished himself by his zeal and activity: he brought some of these practices to light, and, in particular, stigmatized the new East India company for having been deeply concerned in this species of venality. An enquiry being fet on foot in the house of commons, several elections were declared void; and divers persons, who had been illegally returned, were first expelled the house, and afterwards detained in prison. Yet these prosecutions were carried on with such

partiality, as plainly indicated that they flowed rather

from party zeal than from patriotifm.

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& XLII. A great body of the commons had refolved to prefent an address to his majesty, desiring he would acknowledge the king of Spain; and the motion, in all probability, would have been carried by a confiderable majority, had not one bold and lucky expression given fuch a turn to the debate, as induced the anti-courtiers to desist. One Mr. Monckton, in the heat of his declamation against this measure, said, he expected the next vote would be for owning the pretended prince of Wales. Though there was little or no connexion between these two subjects, a great many members were flartled at the infinuation, and deferted the measure; which was dropped accordingly. The king's speech being taken into confideration, the house resolved to support his majesty and his government; to take such effectual measures as might best conduce to the interest and fafety of England, and the preservation of the protestant religion. This resolution was presented in an address to the king, who received it favourably. At the fame time, he laid before them a memorial he had received from the States-general, and defired their advice and affifiance in the points that conflituted the substance of this remonstrance. The States gave him to underfiand, that they had acknowledged the duke of Anjou as king of Spain: That France had agreed to a negociation, in which they might stipulate the necessary conditions for fecuring the peace of Europe; and that they were firmly resolved to do nothing without the concurrence of his majesty and their other allies. They, therefore, begged he would fend a minister to the Hague, with necessary powers and instructions to co-operate with them in this negociation: They told him that, in case it should prove ineffectual, or Holland be suddenly invaded by the troops which Louis had ordered to advance towards their frontiers, they relied on the affistance of England, and hoped his majesty would prepare the succours stipulated by treaty, to be used, should occasion require. The memorial was likewise communicated to Gg 2

the house of lords. Meanwhile the commons defired that the treaties between England and the States-general should be laid before their house. These being perused. they resolved upon an address, to desire his majesty would enter into fuch negociations with the Statesgeneral and other potentates, as might most effectually conduce to the mutual fafety of Great Britain and the United Provinces, as well as to the preservation of the peace of Europe, and to affure him of their support and affiftance in performance of the treaty subfifting between England and the States-general. This resolution, however, was not carried without great opposition from those who were averle to the nation's involving itself in another war upon the continent. The king professed himself extremely well pleased with this address, and told them he would immediately order his ministers abroad to act in concert with the States-general and other powers, for the attainment of those ends they proposed.

& XLIII. He communicated to the commons a letter, written by the earl of Melfort to his brother the earl of Perth, governor to the pretended prince of Wales. It had been missaid by accident, and came to London in the French mail. It contained a scheme for another invasion of England, together with some reflections on the character of the earl of Middleton, who had supplanted him at the court of St. Germain. Melfort was a mere projector, and feems to have had no other view than that of recommending himself to king James, and bringing his rival into difgrace. The houle of lords, to whom the letter was also imparted, ordered it to be printed. Next day they presented an address, thanking his majesty for his care of the protestant religion; defiring all the treaties made fince the last war might be laid before them; requesting him to engage in fuch alliances as he should think proper for preferving the balance of power in Europe; affuring him of their concurrence; expressing their acknowledgment for his having communicated Melfort's letter; defiring he would give orders for feizing the horses and arms of disaffected sili

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persons; for removing papists from London; and for fearching after those arms and provisions of war mentioned in the letter. Finally, They requested him to equip speedily a sufficient fleet for the defence of himfelf and his kingdom. They received a gracious anfwer to this address; which was a further encouragement to the king to put his own private defigns in execution: Towards the same end the letter contributed not a little, by inflaming the fears and refentment of the nation against France, which in vain disclaimed the earl of Melfort as a fantastical schemer, to whom no regard was paid at the court of Versailles. The French miniftry complained of the publication of this letter, as an attempt to fow jealoufy between the two crowns; and, as a convincing proof of their fincerity, banished the

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& XLIV. The credit of exchequer bills was fo lowered by the change of the ministry, and the lapse of the time allotted for their circulation, that they fell near twenty per cent.; to the prejudice of the revenue, and the discredit of the government in foreign countries. The commons having taken this affair into confideration, voted, That provision should be made, from time to time, for making good the principal and interest due on all parliamentary funds; and afterwards passed a bill for renewing the bills of credit, commonly called exchequer bills. This was fent up to the lords on the fixth day of March, and on the thirteenth received the royal affent. The next object that engrossed the attention of the commons was the fettlement of the fuccession to the throne. which the king had recommended to their confideration in the beginning of the fession. Having deliberated on this subject, they resolved, That for the preservation of the peace and happiness of the kingdom, and the fecurity of the protestant religion, it was absolutely necessary that a further declaration should be made of the limitation and fuccession of the crown in the protestant line, after his majesty and the princess, and the heirs of their bodies respectively: And, That further provision should be first made for the security of the rights and liber-

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liberties of the people. Mr. Harley moved, That some conditions of government might be fettled as preliminaries, before they should proceed to the nomination of the person, that their security might be complete. Accordingly, they deliberated on this subject, and agreed to the following resolutions: That whoever shall hereafter come to the possession of this crown, shall join in communion with the church of England, as by law effablished: That, in case the crown and imperial dignity of this realm shall hereafter come to any person not being a native of this kingdom of England, this nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories which do not belong to the crown of England, without the confent of parliament: That no person who shall hereafter come to the posfession of the crown, shall go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without confent of parliament: That from and after the time that the further limitation by this act shall take effect, all matters and things relating to the well-governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the privy-council, by the laws and customs of the realm, shall be transacted there; and all resolutions taken thereupon shall be figned by fuch of the privy-council as shall advise and consent to the same: That after the limitation shall take effect, no person born out of this kingdom of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, although he be naturalized, and made a denizen (except fuch as are born of English parents) shall be capable to be of the privy-council, or a member of either house of parliament, or to enjoy any office or place of truft, either civil or military, or to have any grant of lands, tenements, or hereditaments from the crown to himself, or to any others in trust for him: That no person who has an office or place of profit under the king, or receives a pension from the crown, shall be capable of serving as member of the house of commons: That after the limitation shall take effect, judges commissions be made quamdin se bene gesserint, and their falaries afcertained and established; but, upon

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the address of both houses of parliament, it may be lawful to remove them: That no pardon under the great feal of England be pleadable to an impeachment by the commons in parliament. Having fettled thefe preliminaries, they refolved, That the princess Sophia, duchess dowager of Hanover, be declared the next in fuccession to the crown of England, in the protestant line, after his majesty, and the princess, and the heirs of their body respectively: And, That the further limitation of the crown be to the faid princes Sophia and the heirs of her body, being protestants. A bill being formed on these resolutions, was sent up to the house of lords, where it met with fome opposition from the marquis of Normandy; A protest was likewise entered against it by the earls of Huntingdon and Plymouth, and the lords Guildford and Jeffries. Nevertheless, it paffed without amendments; and on the twelfth day of June received the royal affent: The king was extremely mortified at the preliminary limitations, which he confidered as an open infult on his own conduct and administration; not but that they were necessary precautions, naturally suggested by the experience of those evils to which the nation had been already exposed, in consequence of raising a foreign prince to the throne of England, As the Tories lay under the imputation of favouring the late king's interest, they exerted themfelves zealously on this occasion, to wipe off the asperfion, and infinuate themselves into the confidence of the people; hoping, that in the fequel they should be able to restrain the nation from engaging too deep in the affairs of the continent, without incurring the charge of disaffection to the present king and government. The act of fettlement being passed, the earl of Macclesfield was fent to notify the transaction to the electress Sophia, who likewise received from his hands the order of the

§ XLV. The act of succession gave umbrage to all the popish princes who were more nearly related to the crown than this lady; whom the parliament preferred to all

others. The duchess of Savoy, grand-daughter to king Charles I. by her mother, ordered her ambaffador, count Maffei, to make a protestation to the parliament of England, in her name, against all resolutions and decisions contrary to her title, as fole daughter to the princess Henrietta, next in succession to the crown of England, after king William and the princess Anne of Denmark. Two copies of this protest Maffei fent in letters to the lord-keeper and the speaker of the lower house, by two of his gentlemen, and a public notary to attest the delivery; but no notice was taken of the declaration. The duke of Savoy, while his minister was thus employed in England, engaged in an alliance with the crowns of France and Spain, on condition, That his catholic majefty should espouse his youngest daughter without a dowry: That he himself should command the allied army in Italy, and furnish eight thousand infantry, with five-and-twenty hundred horse, in consideration of a monthly subsidy of five thousand crowns.

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& XLVI. During these transactions Mr. Stanhope, envoy-extraordinary to the States-General, was empowered to treat with the ministers of France and Spain, according to the addresses of both houses of parliament. He represented, that though his most christian majesty had thought fit to deviate from the partition-treaty, it was not reasonable that the king of England should lose the effect of that convention; he therefore expected fome fecurity for the peace of Europe; and for that purpose infifted upon certain articles, importing, That the French king should immediately withdraw his troops from the Spanish Netherlands: That, for the security of England, the cities of Oftend and Nieuport should be delivered into the hands of his Britannic majesty: That no kingdom, provinces, cities, lands, or places, belonging to the crown of Spain, should ever be vielded or transferred to the crown of France, on any pretence whatever: That the subjects of his Britannic majesty should retain all the privileges, rights, and immunities, with regard to their navigation and commerce in the dominions of Spain, which

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which they enjoyed at the death of his late catholic majesty; and also all such immunities, rights, and franchifes, as the fubjects of France or any other power, either possess for the present, or may enjoy for the future: That all treaties of peace and conventions between England and Spain should be renewed; And, That a treaty formed on these demands should be guaranteed by fuch powers as one or the other of the contractors should folicit and prevail upon to accede. Such likewise were the proposals made by the States-General; with this difference, that they demanded, as cautionary towns, all the strongest places in the Netherlands. Count d'Avaux, the French minister, was so surprised at these exorbitant demands, that he could not help faying, They could not have been higher, if his master had lost four successive battles. He affured them, that his most christian majesty would withdraw his troops from the Spanish Netherlands as foon as the king of Spain should have forces of his own fufficient to guard the country. With respect to the other articles, he could give no other answer but that he would immediately transmit them to Verfailles. Louis was filled with indignation at the infolent strain of those proposals, which he considered as a fure mark of William's hodile intentions. He refused to give any other security for the peace of Europe than a renewal of the treaty of Ryswick; and he is said to have tampered, by means of his agents and emissaries, with the members of the English parliament, that they might oppose all steps tending to a new war on the continent.

§ XLVII, King William certainly had no expectation that France would close with such proposals; but he was not without hope that her refusal would warm the English nation into a concurrence with his designs. He communicated to the house of commons the demand which had been made by him and the States-General; and gave them to understand, that he would, from time to time, make them acquainted with the progress of the negociation. The commons, suspecting that his intention was to make them parties in a congress which he might conduct to a different end from that which they proposed, resolved to signify

fignify their fentiments in the answer to this message. They called for the treaty of partition; which being read, they voted an address of thanks to his majesty, for his most gracious declaration, that he would make them acquainted with the progress of the negociation: But they fignified their disapprobation of the partition-treaty, figned with the great feal of England, without the advice of the parliament which was then fitting, and productive of ill confequences to the kingdom, as well as to the peace of Europe, as it assigned over to the French king fuch a large portion of the Spanish dominions. Nothing could be more mortifying to the king than this open attack upon his own conduct; yet he suppressed his refentment, and without taking the least notice of their fentiments with respect to the partition-treaty, assured them that he should be always ready to receive their advice on the negociation which he had fet on foot according to their defire. The debates in the house of commons, upon the subject of the partition-treaty, rose to fuch violence, that divers members, in declaiming against it, transgressed the bounds of decency. Sir Edward Sevmour compared the division which had been made of the Spanish territories to a robbery on the highway; and Mr. Howe did not scruple to fay it was a felonious treaty: An expression which the king resented to such a degree, that he declared he would have demanded personal satisfaction with his fword, had not he been restrained by the disparity of condition between himself and the person who had offered fuch an outrageous infult to his honour. Whether the Tories intended to alienate the minds of the nation from all foreign connexions, or to wreak their vengeance on the late ministers, whom they hated as the chiefs of the Whig party, certain it is, they now raifed an universal outcry against the partition-treaty; which was not only condemned in public pamphlets and private conversation, but even brought into the house of lords as an object of parliamentary censure. In the month of March a warm debate on this fubject was begun by Sheffield, marquis of Normanby, and carried on with great vehemence by other noblemen of the same faction: They exclaimed

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exclaimed against the article by which so many territories were added to the crown of France: They complained that the emperor had been forfaken: That the treaty was not communicated to the privy-council or ministry, but clandestinely transacted by the earls of Portland and Jersey: That the fanction of the great seal had been unjustly and irregularly applied, first to blank powers, and afterwards to the treaty itself. The courtiers replied, that the king had engaged in a treaty of partition at the defire of the emperor, who had agreed to every article except that relating to the duchy of Milan, and afterwards defired that his majefty would procure for him the best terms he could obtain; above all things, recommending fecrely, that he might not forfeit his interest in Spain, by seeming to consent to the treaty: That foreign negociations being entrusted to the care of the crown, the king lay under no legal obligation to communicate fuch fecrets of state to his council; far less was he obliged to follow their advice: And that the keeper of the great feal had no authority for refufing to apply it to any powers or treaty which the king should grant or conclude, unless they were contrary to law, which had made no provision for fuch an emergency *. The earl of Portland, apprehending that this tempest would burft upon his head, declared, on the fecond day of the debate, that he had, by the king's order, communicated the treaty, before it was concluded, to the earls of Pembroke and Marlborough, the lords Lonfdale, Somers, Hallifax, and fecretary Vernon. These noblemen owned that they had been made acquainted with the substance of it: That when they excepted to some particulars, they were told, his majesty had carried the matter as far as it could be advanced, and that he could obtain no better terms: Thus affured that every article was already fettled, they faid they no longer infifted upon particulars, but gave their advice that his majesty should not engage himself in any measure that would produce a new war, feeing the nation had been fo uneasy under the last.

^{*} See note [X] at the end of the volume.

After long debates, and great variety as well as virulence of altercation, the house agreed to an address, in which they disapproved of the partition-treaty as a scheme inconfistent with the peace and safety of Europe, as well as prejudicial to the interest of Great Britain. They complained, that neither the instructions given to his plenipotentiaries, nor the draft of the treaty itself, had been laid before his majesty's council. They humbly befought him, that, for the future, he would, in all matters of importance, require and admit the advice of his natural-born subjects of known probity and fortune; and that he would constitute a council of such persons, to whom he might impart all affairs which should anyway concern him and his dominions. They observed, that interest and natural affection to their country would incline them to every meafure that might tend to its welfare and profperity; whereas strangers could not be so much influenced by these considerations: That their knowledge of the country would render them more capable than foreigners could be of advising his majesty touching the true interests of his kingdom: That they had exhibited fuch repeated demonstrations of their duty and affection, as must convince his majesty of their zeal in his service; nor could he want the knowledge of persons-fit to be employed in all his fecret and arduous affairs: Finally, As the French king appeared to have violated the treaty of partition, they advised his majesty, in future negociations with that prince, to proceed with fuch caution as might imply a real fecurity.

§ XLVIII. The king received this fevere remonfirance with his usual phlegm, faying, it contained matter of very great moment; and he would take care that all treaties he made should be for the honour and safety of England. Though he deeply felt this affront, he would not alter his conduct towards the new ministers: But he plainly perceived their intention was to thwart him in his favourite measure, and humble him into a dependence upon their interest in parliament. On the last day of March (1701) he imparted to the commons the French king's declaration, that he would grant no

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other security than a renewal of the treaty of Ryswick: So that the negociation feemed to be at an end. He likewife communicated two refolutions of the States-General, with a memorial from their envoy in England, relating to the ships they had equipped with a view to join the English fleet, and the fuccours stipulated in the treaty concluded in the year 1677, which they defired might be fent over with all convenient expedition. house having considered this message, unanimously refolved to delire his majesty would carry on the negociations in concert with the States-General, and take fuch measures therein as might most conduce to their safety; They affured him they would effectually enable him to fupport the treaty of 1677, by which England was bound to affift them with ten thousand men and twenty ships of war, in case they should be attacked. Though the king was nettled at that part of this address which, by confining him to one treaty, implied their disapprobation of a new confederacy, he discovered no figns of emotion; but thanked them for the affurance they had given, and told them he had fent orders to his envoy at the Hague, to continue the conferences with the courts of France and Spain. On the nineteenth day of April the marquis de Torcy delivered to the earl of Manchester, at Paris, a letter from the new king of Spain to his Britannic majesty, notifying his accession to that throne, and expressing a defire of cultivating a mutual friendship with the king and crown of England. How averse soever William might have been to any correspondence of this fort, the earl of Rochester and the new ministers importuned him in fuch a manner to acknowledge Philip, that he at length complied with their intreaties, and wrote a civil answer to his most catholic majesty. This was a very alarming incident to the emperor, who was bent upon a war with the two crowns, and had determined to fend prince Eugene with an army into Italy to take possession of the duchy of Milan, as a sief of the empire. The new pope Clement XI. who had fucceeded to the papacy in the preceding year, was attached to the French interest: The Venetians favoured the Hh emperor;

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nons no ther emperor; but they refused to declare themselves at this juncture. The still have been a management set in

& XLIX. The French king confented to a renewal of the negociations at the Hague; but, in the mean time, tampered with the Dutch deputies, to engage them in a feparate treaty. Finding them determined to act in concert with the king of England, he protracted the conferences, in order to gain time, while he erected fortifications and drew lines on the frontiers of Holland, divided the princes of the empire by his intrigues, and endeavoured to gain over the states of Italy. The Dutch, meanwhile, exerted themselves in providing for their own fecurity. They reinforced their garrisons, purchased supplies, and solicited succours from foreign potentates. The states wrote a letter to king William, explaining the danger of their fituation, professing the most inviolable attachment to the interest of England, and defiring that the stipulated number of troops should be fent immediately to their affiftance. The three Scottish regiments, which he had retained in his own pay, were immediately transported from Scotland. The letter of the States-General he communicated to the house of commons, who, having taken it into confideration, refolved to affift his majesty to support his allies in maintaining the liberty of Europe; and to provide immediate fuccours for the States-General, according to the treaty of 1677. The house of peers, to whom the letter was also communicated, carried their zeal still farther. They presented an address, in which they defired his majesty would not only perform the articles of any former treaty with the States-General, but also engage with them in a frict league, offensive and defensive, for their common preservation; and invite into it all the princes and states that were concerned in the present visible danger arising from the union of France and Spain. They exhorted him to enter into fuch alliances with the emperor as his majesty should think necessary, pursuant to the ends of the treaty concluded in the year 1689. They affured him of their hearty and fincere affistance, not doubting that Almighty God would protect his facred person in so right

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teous a cause; and that the unanimity, wealth, and courage of his subjects would carry him with honour and success through all the difficulties of a just war. Lastly, They took leave humbly to represent, that the dangers to which his kingdom and allies had been exposed, were chiefly owing to the satal counsels that prevented his ma-

jefty's fooner meeting his people in parliament.

& L. These proceedings of both houses could not but be very agreeable to the king, who expressed his satisfaction in his answer to each apart. They were the more remarkable, as at this very time confiderable progress was made in a design to impeach the old ministry. This deviation, therefore, from the tenour of their former conduct could be owing to no other motive than a fense of their own danger, and refentment against France, which, even during the negociation, had been fecretly employed in making preparations to furprife and diffress the States-General. The commons having expressed their sentiments on this subject, resumed the consideration of the partition-treaty. They had appointed a committee to examine the journals of the house of lords, and to report their proceedings in relation to the treaty of partition. When the report was made by fir Edward Seymour, the house resolved itself into a committee, to consider the state of the nation. After warm debates they refolved, That William, earl of Portland, by negociating and concluding the treaty of partition, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor. They ordered fir John Levison Gower to impeach him at the bar of the house of lords; and named a committee to prepare the articles of his impeachment. Then, in a conference with the lords, they defired to know the particulars of what had passed between the earl of Portland and secretary Vernon in relation to the partition-treaty, as also what other information they had obtained concerning negociations of treaties of partition of the Spanish monarchy. The lords demurring to this demand, the lower house resolved to address the king, That copies of both treaties of partition, together with all the powers and instructions for negociating those treaties, should be laid before them. The timo Hh 2 copies

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copies were accordingly produced; and the lords fent down to the commons two papers, containing the powers granted to the earls of Portland and Jersey, for figning both treaties of partition. The house afterwards ordered, That Mr. fecretary Vernon should lay before them all the letters which had passed between the earl of Portland and him, in relation to those treaties; and he thought proper to obey their command. Nothing could be more scandalously partial than the conduct of the commons on this occasion. They resolved to skreen the earl of Jersey, fir Joseph Williamson, and Mr. Vernon, who had been as deeply concerned as any others in that transaction; and pointed all their vengeance against the earls of Portland and Orford, and the lords Somers and Hallifax. Some of the members even tampered with Kidd, who was now a prisoner in Newgate, to accuse lord Somers as having encouraged him in his piracy. He was brought to the bar of the house, and examined: But he declared, that he had never spoke to lord Somers; and that he had no order from those concerned in the ship, but that of pursuing his voyage against the pirates in Madagascar. Finding him unfit for their purpose, they left him to the course of law; and he was hanged, with fome of his accomplices.

§ LI. Lord Somers, understanding that he was accufed in the house of commons of having consented to the partition-treaty, defired that he might be admitted and heard in his own defence. His request being granted, he told the house, that when he received the king's letter concerning the partition-treaty, with an order to fend over the necessary powers in the most secret manner, he thought it would have been taking too much upon him to put a stop to a treaty of such consequence, when the life of the king of Spain was so precarious; for, had the king died before the treaty was finished, and he been blamed for delaying the necessary powers, he could not have justified his own conduct, fince the king's letter was really a warrant: That, nevertheless, he had written a letter to his majesty, objecting to several particulars in the treaty, and proposing other articles which

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he thought were for the interest of his country: That he thought himself bound to put the great seal to the treaty when it was concluded: That, as a privy-counfellor, he had offered his best advice, and as chancellor, executed his office according to his duty. After he had withdrawn, his justification gave rife to a long debate, which ended in a resolution carried by a majority of feven voices. That John lord Somers, by adviling his majesty to conclude the treaty of partition, whereby large territories of the Spanish monarchy were to be delivered up to France, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor. Votes to the same effect were passed against Edward earl of Orford, and Charles lord Hallifax; and all three were impeached at the bar of the upper house. But the commons knowing that those impeachments would produce nothing in the house of lords, where the opposite interest predominated, they resolved to proceed against the accused noblemen in a more expeditious and effectual way of branding their reputation. They voted and prefented an address to the king, defiring he would remove them from his councils and prefence for ever, as advisers of a treaty so pernicious to the trade and welfare of England. They concluded, by repeating their affurance, that they would always stand by and support his majesty to the utmost of their power, against all his enemies both at home and abroad. The king, in his answer, artfully overlooked the first part of the remonstrance. He thanked them for their repeated affurances; and told them he would employ none in his fervice but fuch as should be thought most likely to improve that mutual trust and confidence between him and his people which was fo necessary at that conjuncture, both for their own fecurity and the prefervation of their allies. gramot student in busis blink of

§ LII. The lords, incenfed at this step of the commons, which they considered as an insult upon their tribunal, and a violation of common justice, drew up and delivered a counter-address, humbly befeeching his majesty, that he would not pass any censure upon the accused lords until they should be tried on the impeach-

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ments.

ments, and judgments be given according to the ulage of parliament. The king was fo perplexed by these opposite representations, that he knew not well what course to follow. He made no reply to the counteraddress, but allowed the names of the impeached lords to remain in the council books. The commons having carried the point, which was to stigmatize those noblemen, and prevent their being employed for the future, fuffered their impeachments to be neglected, until they themselves moved for trial. On the fifth day of May the house of lords fent a message to the commons, importing, That no articles had as yet been exhibited against the noblemen whom they had impeached. The charge was immediately drawn up against the earl of Orford: Him they accused of having received exorbitant grants from the crown: Of having been concerned with Kidd the pirate: Of having committed abuses in managing and victualling the fleet when it lay on the coast of Spain: And lasty, Of having advised the partition-treaty. The earl in his own defence declared, That he had received no grant from the king, except a very distant reversion, and a present of ten thousand pounds, after he had defeated the French at La Hogue; That in Kidd's affair he had acted illegally, and with a good intention towards the public, though to his own lofs: That his accounts with regard to the fleet which he commanded, had been examined and paffed; yet he was ready to waive the advantage, and justify himfelf in every particular; And he absolutely denied that he had given any advice concerning the treaty of partition. Lord Somers was accused of having set the seals to the powers, and afterwards to the treaties: Of having accepted fome grants: Of having been an accomplice with Kidd; and of having some guilt of partial and dilatory proceedings in chancery. He answered every article in the charge; but no replication was made by the commons, either to him or to the earl of Orford. When the commons were stimulated by another mesfage from the peers, relating to the impeachments of the earl of Portland and lord Hallifax, they declined exhibiting

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biting articles against the former, on pretence of respect for his majesty; but on the fourteenth of June the charge against Hallifax was fent up to the lords. He was taxed with possessing a grant in Ireland, without paying the produce of it, according to the law lately enacted concerning those grants: With enjoying another grant out of the forest of Deane, to the waste of the timber and the prejudice of the navy: With having held places that were incompatible, by being at the same time commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; and with having advised the two treaties of partition. He answered, That his grant in Ireland was of debts and fums of money, and within the act concerning confiscated estates; that all he had ever received from it did not exceed four hundred pounds; which, if he was bound to repay, a common action would lie against him; but every man was not to be impeached who did not discharge his debts at the very day of payment. He observed, that as his grant in the forest of Deane extended to weedings only, it could occasion no waste of timber, nor prejudice to the navy; that the auditor's place was held by another person, until he obtained the king's leave to withdraw from the treasury; That he never saw the first treaty of partition, nor was his advice asked upon the subject: That he had never heard of the fecond but once, before it was concluded: And then, he spoke his sentiments freely on the subject. This answer, like the others, would have been neglected by the commons, whose aim was now to evade the trials, had not the lords pressed them by messages to expedite the articles. They even appointed a day for Orford's trial, and fignified their refolution to the commons, These desired that a committee of both houses should be named for settling preliminaries; one of which was, That the lord to be tried should not fit as a peer; and the other imported, That these lords impeached for the same matter should not vote in the trial of each other. They likewise defired, that lord Somers should be first tried. The lords made no objection to this last demand; but they rejected the propofal

pofal of a committe confifting of both houses, alledging, that the commons were parties, and had no title to fit in equality with the judge, or to fettle matters relating to the trial: That this was a demand contrary to the principles of law and rules of justice, and never practifed in any court or nation. The lords, indeed, had vielded to this expedient in the popish plot, because it was a case of treason, in which the king's life and safety of the kingdom were concerned, while the people were jealous of the court, and the whole nation was in a ferment: but at present the times were quiet, and the charge amounted to nothing more than misdemeanors: therefore, the lords could not affent to fuch a propofal as was derogatory from their jurisdiction. Neither would they agree to the preliminaries; but, on the twelfth day of June, resolved, That no peer impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, should, upon his trial, be without the bar: And, That no peer impeached, could be precluded from voting on any occasion, except in his own trial. Divers meffages passed between the two houses; the commons still infisting upon a committee to settle preliminaries: At length the dispute was ix solr beginsen on in brought to a free conference.

& LIII. Meanwhile, the king going to the house of peers, gave the royal affent to the bill of fuccession. In his speech he expressed his warm acknowledgments for their repeated affurances of supporting him in such alliances as should be most proper for the preservation of the liberty of Europe, and for the security of England and the States-general. He observed, that the season of the year was advanced: That the posture of affairs absolutely required his presence abroad: And he recommended dispatch of the public business, especially of those matters which were of the greatest importance. The commons thanked him in an address for having approved of their proceedings: They declared they would Support him in such alliances as he should think fit to make in conjunction with the emperor and the Statesgeneral, for the peace of Europe, and reducing the exorbitant power of France. Then they refumed their

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dispute with the upper house. In the free conference, lord Haversham happened to tax the commons with partiality, in impeaching fome lords and fcreening others, who were equally guilty of the same misdemeanors. Christopher Musgrave and the managers of the commons immediately withdrew; this unguarded fally being reported to the house, they immediately resolved, That John lord Haversham had uttered most scandalous reproaches and false expressions, highly reflecting upon the honour and justice of the house of commons, tending to a breach in the good correspondence between the two houses, and to the interruption of the public justice of the nation: That the faid lord Haversham should be charged before the lords for the faid words: That the lords should be desired to proceed in justice against him, and to inflict upon him fuch punishment as so high an offence against the commons did deserve. The commons had now found a pretence to justify their delay; and declared they would not renew the conference until they should have received satisfaction. Lord Haversham offered to submit to a trial; but infifted on their first proving the words which he was faid to have spoken. When this declaration was imparted to the commons, they faid, the lords ought to have censured him in a fummary way; and still refused to renew the conference. The lords, on the other hand, came to a refolution, That there should not be a committee of both houses concerning the trial of the impeached lords. Then they resolved, That lord Somers should be tried at Westminster-hall, on Tuesday the seventeenth day of June, and fignified this resolution to the lower house; reminding them, at the same time, of the articles against the earl of Portland. The commons refused to appear, alledging, they were the only judges, and that the evidence was not yet prepared. They fent up the reasons of their nonappearance to the house of lords, where they were supported by the new ministry and all the malcontents, and produced very warm debates. The majority carried their point piece-meal, by dint of different votes; against which very fevere protests were entered.

entered. On the day appointed for the trial they fent a message to the commons, that they were going to Westminster-hall. The other impeached lords asked leave, and were permitted to withdraw. The articles of impeachment against lord Somers, and his answers, being read in Westminster-hall, and the commons not appearing to profecute, the lords adjourned to their own house. where they debated concerning the question that was to be put. This being fettled, they returned to Westminster-hall; and the question being put, " That John lord Somers be " acquitted of the articles of impeachment against him. exhibited by the house of commons, and all things " therein contained; and, That the impeachment be dismissed," it was carried by a majority of thirty-five. The commons, exasperated at these proceedings, refolved, That the lords had refused justice to the commons: That they had endeavoured to overturn the right of impeachment lodged in the commons, by the ancient constitution of the kingdom: That all the ill confequences which might attend the delay of the fupplies given for the prefervation of the public peace, and the maintenance of the balance of Europe, would be owing to those who, to procure an indemnity for their own crimes, had used their utmost endeavours to make a breach between the two houses. The lords sent a mesfage to the commons, giving them to understand, that they had acquitted lord Somers, and dismissed the impeachment, as nobody had appeared to support the articles; and that they had appointed next Monday for the trial of the earl of Orford. They refolved, That unless the charge against lord Haversham should be prosecuted by the commons before the end of the fession, the lords would adjudge him innocent: That the resolutions of the commons in their late votes, contained most unjust reflections on the honour and justice of the peers: That they were contrived to cover their affected and unreafonable delays in profecuting the impeached lords: That they manifestly tended to the destruction of the judicature of the lords; to the rendering trials on impeachments impracticable for the future, and to the subverting

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the constitution of the English government: That, therefore, whatever ill consequence might arise from the fo long deferring the supplies for this year's service, were to be attributed to the fatal counsel of the putting off the meeting of a parliament fo long, and to the unnecessary delays of the house of commons. On the twenty-third day of June the articles of impeachment against Edward earl of Orford, were read in Westminster-hall; but the house of commons having previously ordered that none of the members should appear at this pretended trial. those articles were not supported: So that his lordship was acquitted, and the impeachment dismissed. Next day the impeachments against the duke of Leeds, which had lain feven years neglected, together with those against the earl of Portland and lord Hallifax, as well as the charge against lord Haversham, were dismissed for want of profecution. Each house ordered a narrative of these proceedings to be published; and their mutual animosity had proceeded to such a degree of rancour, as feemed to preclude all possibility of reconciliation. The commons, in the whole course of this transaction, had certainly acted from motives of faction and revenge; for nothing could be more unjust, frivolous, and partial, than the charge exhibited in the articles of impeachment, their anticipating address to the king, and their affected delay in the profecutions. Their conduct on this occasion was so flagrant as to attract the notice of the common people, and inspire the generality of the nation with difgust. This the Whigs did not fail to augment by the arts of calumny; and, in particular, by infinuating that the court of Versailles had found means to engage the majority of the commons in its interest.

& LIV. This faction had, fince the beginning of this fession, employed their emissaries in exciting a popular aversion to the Tory ministers and members; and succeeded so well in their endeavours, that they formed a scheme of obtaining petitions from different counties and corporations, that should induce the commons to alter their conduct, on the supposition that it was contrary to the sense of the nation. In execution of this scheme, a

petition,

petition, figned by the deputy lieutenants, above twenty ruftices of peace, the grand jury and freeholders of the county of Kent, had been presented to the house of commons on the eighteenth day of May, by five gentlemen of fortune and diffinction. The purport of this remonfirance was to recommend union among themselves, and confidence in his majefty, whose great actions for the nation could never be forgotten without the blackest ingratitude: To beg they would have regard to the voice of the people; that their religion and fafety might be effectually provided for; that their loyal addresses might be turned into bills of fupply; and that his most facred majesty might be enabled powerfully to affift his allies before it was too late. The house was so incensed at the petulance of the petition, that they voted it scandalous, infolent, and feditious; and ordered the gentlemen who had presented it to be taken into custody. They were afterwards committed to the Gatehouse, where they remained till the prorogation of parliament: But they had no reason to repine at their imprisonment, which recommended them to the notice and efteem of the public. They were vifited and careffed by the chiefs of the Whig interest, and confidered as martyrs to the liberties of the people. Their confinement gave rife to a very extraordinary paper, intitled, " A memorial from the gentle-" men, freeholders, and inhabitants of the counties of in behalf of themselves and many thou-" fands of the good people of England." It was figned Legion, and fent to the speaker, commanding him, in the name of two hundred thousand Englishmen, to deliver it to the house of commons. In this strange expostulation, the house was charged with illegal and unwarrantable practices, in fifteen particulars; a new claim of rights was ranged under feven heads; and the commons were admonished to act according to their duty, as specified in this memorial, on pain of incurring the refentment of an injured nation. It was concluded in these words: "For Engishmen are no more to be flaves to parliaments than " to kings-our name is Legion, and we are many." The commons were equally provoked and intimidated

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by this libel, which was the production of one Daniel de Foe, a scurrilous party-writer, in very little estimation. They would not, however, deign to take notice of it in the house: But a complaint being made of endeavours to raise tumults and seditions, a committee was appointed to draw up an address to his majesty, informing him of those seditious endeavours, and beseeching him to pro-

vide for the public peace and security.

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& LV. The house, however, perceiving plainly that they had incurred the odium of the nation, which began to clamour for a war with France, and dreading the popular refentment, thought fit to change their measures with respect to this object, and present the address we have already mentioned; in which they promifed to fupport him in the alliances he should contract with the emperor and other states, in order to bridle the exorbitant power of France. They likewife proceeded in earnest upon the fupply, and voted funds for raising about two millions feven hundred thousand pounds to defray the expence of the enfuing year. They voted thirty thoufand feamen, and refolved that ten thousand troops should be transported from Ireland to Holland, as the auxiliaries stipulated in the treaty of 1677 with the States-General. The funds were constituted of a land-tax, certain duties on merchandize, and a weekly deduction from the excise, so as to bring down the civil list to fix hundred thousand pounds; as the duke of Gloucester was dead, and James's queen refused her allowance. They paffed a bill for taking away all privilege of parliament in legal profecutions, during the intermediate prorogations; their last struggle with the lords was concerning a bill for appointing commissioners to examine and state the public accounts. The persons nominated for this purpose were extremely obnoxious to the majority of the peers, as violent partizans of the Tory faction: When the bill, therefore, was sent up to the lords, they made fome amendments; which the commons rejected. The former animofity between the two houses began to revive, when the king interrupted their disputes by putting an end to the fellion, on the twenty-fourth Ii

day of June, after having thanked the parliament for their zeal in the public fervice, and exhorted them to a discharge of their duties in their several counties. He was, no doubt, extremely pleafed with fuch an iffue of a fession that had begun with a very inauspicious aspect, His health daily declined: But he concealed the decay of his constitution, that his allies might not be discouraged from engaging in a confederacy of which he was deemed the head and chief support. He conferred the command of the ten thousand troops destined for Holland upon the earl of Marlborough, and appointed him, at the same time, his plenipotentiary to the States-General: A choice that evinced his discernment and discretion; for that nobleman surpassed all his contemporaries, both as a general and a politician. He was cool, penetrating, intrepid, and persevering; plausible, infinuating,

artful, and diffembling.

§ LVI. A regency being established, the king embarked for Holland in the beginning of July. On his arrival at the Hague he affifted at an affembly of the States-General, whom he harangued in very affectionate terms, and was answered with great cordiality: Then he made a progress round the frontiers, to examine the state of the garrisons; and gave such orders and directions as he judged necessary for the defence of the country. Meanwhile the French minister, D'Avaux, being recalled from the Hague, delivered a letter to the States from the French king, who complained that they had often interrupted the conferences, from which no good fruits were to be expected: But he affured them it wholly depended upon themselves, whether they should continue to receive marks of his ancient friendship for their republic. The letter was accompanied by an infolent memorial, to which the States-General returned a very spirited answer. As they expected nothing now but hostilities from France, they redoubled their diligence in making preparations for their own defence. They repaired their fortifications, augmented their army, and hired auxiliaries. King William and they had already engaged in an alliance with the king of Denmark, who undertook a

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to furnish a certain number of troops, in consideration of a fubfidy; and they endeavoured to mediate a peace between Sweden and Poland; but this they could not effect. France had likewise offered her mediation between those powers, in hopes of bringing over Sweden to her interest; and the court of Vienna had tampered with the king of Poland; but he perfifted in his resolution to profecute the war. The Spaniards began to be very uneasy under the dominion of their new master. They were shocked at the insolence of his French ministers and attendants, and much more at the manners and fashions which they introduced. The grandees found themselves very little considered by their sovereign, and refented his æconomy; for he had endeavoured to retrench the expence of the court, which had used to support their magnificence. Prince Eugene, at the head of the Imperial army, had entered Italy by Vicenza, and paffed the Adige, near Carpi, where he defeated a body of five thousand French forces. The enemy were commanded by the duke of Savoy, affifted by mareichal Catinat and the prince of Vaudemonte, who did not think proper to hazard an engagement: But marefchal Villeroy arriving in the latter end of August, with orders to attack the Imperialists, Catinat retired in difgust. The new general marched immediately towards Chiari, where prince Eugene was entrenched, and attacked his camp; but met with fuch a reception, that he was obliged to retire, with the loss of five thousand men. Towards the end of the campaign the prince took possession of all the Mantuan territories, except Mantua itself, and Goito, the blockade of which he formed. He reduced all the places on the Oglio, and continued in the field during the whole winter, exhibiting repeated marks of the most invincible courage, indefatigable vigilance, and extensive capacity in the art of war. In January he had well nigh furprised Cremona, by introducing a body of men through an old aqueduct. They forced one of the gates, by which the prince and his followers entered: Villeroy being wakened by the noise, ran out into the street, where he was taken; and the town must have been inand your a day w I i.2 Iriniba out out fallibly

fallibly reduced, had prince Eugene been joined by another body of troops, which he had ordered to march from the Parmeian, and fecure the bridge. These not arriving at the time appointed, an Irish regiment in the French service took possession of the bridge; and the

prince was obliged to retire with his prisoner.

§ LVII. The French king, alarmed at the activity and military genius of the Imperial general, fent a reinforcement to his army in Italy, and the duke of Vendome to command his forces in that country: He likewife importuned the duke of Savoy to affift him effectually: But that prince having obtained all he could expect from France, became cold and backward. His fecond daughter was by this time married to the new king of Spain, who met her at Barcelona; where he found himself involved in disputes with the states of Catalonia, who refused to pay a tax he had imposed until their privileges should be confirmed: And he was obliged to gratify them in this particular.—The war continued to rage in the north. The young king of Sweden routed the Saxons upon the river Danu: Thence he marched into Courland, and took possession of Mittau without opposition; while the king of Poland retired into Lithuania. In Hungary the French emissaries endeavoured to fow the feeds of a new revolt. They exerted themselves with indefatigable industry in almost every court of Christendom. They had already gained over the elector of Bavaria, and his brother the elector of Cologne, together with the dukes of Wolfenbuttle and Saxe-Gotha, who professed neutrality, while they levied troops, and made fuch preparations for war as plainly indicated that they had received subsidies from France. Louis had also extorted a treaty of alliance from the king of Portugal, who was personally attached to the Austrian interest: But this weak prince was a flave to his ministers, whom the French king had corrupted. During this fummer the French coasts were overawed by the combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of fir George Rooke, who failed down the Channel in the latter end of August, and detached vice-admiral Benbow, with a strong squad-

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ron, to the West Indies. In order to deceive the French king, with regard to the destination of this sleet, king William demanded the free use of the Spanish harbours, as if his delign had been to fend a squadron to the Mediterranean: But he met with a repulse, while the French ships were freely admitted. About this period the king revoked his letters patent to the commissioners of the admiralty, and constituted the earl of Pembroke lord high-admiral of England, in order to avoid the factions, the disputes, and divided counsels of a board. The earl was no fooner promoted to this office, than he fent captain Loades with three frigates to Cadiz, to bring home the sea stores and effects belonging to the English in that place, before the war should commence; and this piece of service was successfully performed. The French king, in order to enjoy all the advantages that could be derived from his union with Spain, established a company to open a trade with Mexico and Peru; and concluded a new affiento treaty for supplying the Spanish plantations with negroes. At the fame time he fent a firong squadron to the port of Cadiz. The French dress was introduced into the court of Spain; and, by a formal edict, the grandees of that kingdom and the peers of France were put on a level in each nation. There was no vigour left in the councils of Spain: Her finances were exhausted, and her former spirit seemed to be quite extinguished; the nobility were beggars, and the common people overwhelmed with indigence and diffress. The condition of France was not much more prosperous. She had been harraffed by a long war, and now faw herfelf on the eve of another, which in all probability would render her completely miserable.

S LVIII. These circumstances were well known to the emperor and the maritime powers, and served to animate their negociations for another grand alliance. Conferences were opened at the Hague; and, on the seventh day of September, a treaty was concluded between his Imperial majesty, England, and the States-General. The objects proposed, were to procure satisfaction to the emperor in the Spanish succession, and sufficient security

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for the dominion and commerce of the allies. They engaged to use their endeavours for recovering the Spanish Netherlands as a barrier between Holland and France; and for putting the emperor in possession of the duchy of Milan, Naples, and Sicily, with the lands and islands upon the coast of Tuscany belonging to the Spanish dominions. They agreed, That the king of England and the States-General should keep and possess whatever lands and cities they could conquer from the Spaniards in the Indies: That the confederates should faithfully communicate their defigns to one another: That no party should treat of peace or truce but jointly with the rest: That they should concur in preventing the union of France and Spain under the same government; and hinder the French from possessing the Spanish Indies: That, in concluding a peace, the confederates should provide for the maintenance of the commerce carried on by the maritime powers to the dominions taken from the Spaniards, and secure the States by a barrier: That they should, at the same time, settle the exercise of religion in the new conquests: That they should assist one another with all their forces, in case of being invaded by the French king, or any other potentate, on account of this alliance: That a defensive alliance should remain between them, even after the peace: That all kings, princes, and states should be at liberty to engage in this alliance. They determined to employ two months to obtain, by amicable means, the fatisfaction and fecurity which they demanded; and stipulated, that within fix weeks the treaty should be ratified.

§ LIX. On the fixteenth day of September king James expired at St. Germain's, after having laboured under a tedious indisposition. This unfortunate monarch, fince the miscarriage of his last attempt for recovering his throne, had laid aside all thoughts of worldly grandeur, and devoted his whole attention to the concerns of his soul. Though he could not prevent the busy genius of his queen from planning new schemes of restoration, he was always best pleased when wholly detached from such chimerical projects. Hunting was

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his chief diversion; but religion was his constant care. Nothing could be more harmless than the life he led; and, in the course of it, he subjected himself to uncommon penance and mortification. He frequently vifited the poor monks of La Trappe, who were much edified by his humble and pious deportment. His pride and arbitrary temper feem to have vanished with his greatness. He became affable, kind, and easy to all his dependents; and his religion certainly opened and improved the virtues of his heart, though it feemed to impair the faculties of his foul. In his last illness he conjured his fon to prefer his religion to every worldly advantage. and even to renounce all thoughts of a crown, if he could not enjoy it without offering violence to his faith. He recommended to him the practice of justice and christian forgiveness; he himself declaring, that he heartily forgave the prince of Orange, the emperor, and all his enemies. He died with great marks of devotion, and was interred, at his own request, in the church of the English Benedictines, in Paris, without any funeral solemnity.

§ LX. Before his death he was visited by the French king, who feemed touched with his condition, and declared, that, in case of his death, he would own his son as king of England. This promise James's queen had already extorted from him, by the interest of madame de Maintenon and the dauphin. Accordingly, when James died, the pretended prince of Wales was proclaimed king of England at St. Germain's, and treated as fuch at the court of Verfailles. His title was likewise recognized by the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and the pope. William was no fooner informed of this transaction, than he dispatched a courier to the king of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Ryswick, to complain of this manifest violation. At the same time he recalled the earl of Manchester from Paris, and ordered him to return without taking an audience of leave. That nobleman immediately withdrew, after having intimated to the marquis de Torcy the order he had received. Louis, in vindication of his own conduct, dispersed through

through all the courts of Europe a manifesto, in which he affirmed, that in owning the prince of Wales as king of England he had not infringed any article of the treaty of Ryswick. He confessed that in the fourth article he had promifed that he would not disturb the king of Great Britain in the peaceable possession of his dominions; and he declared his intention was to observe that promise punctually. He observed, that his generosity would not allow him to abandon the prince of Wales or his family; that he could not refuse him a title which was due to him by birth: That he had more reason to complain of the king of Great Britain and the States-General, whose declarations and preparations in favour of the emperor might be regarded as real contraventions to treaties: Finally, He quoted fome instances from history, in which the children enjoyed the titles of kingdoms which their fathers had loft. These reasons, however, would hardly have induced the French king to take fuch a step, had not he perceived that a war with England was inevitable; and that he should be able to reap some advantages in the course of it, from espousing the cause of the pretender.

6 LXI. The substance of the French manifesto was published in London by Poussin, the secretary of Tallard, who had been left in England as agent for the court of Verfailles. He was now ordered to leave the kingdom; which was filled with indignation at Louis, for having pretended to declare who ought to be their The city of London presented an address to the lords-justices, expressing the deepest refentment of the French king's prefumption; affuring his majefty that they would, at all times, exert the utmost of their abilities for the preservation of his person and the defence of his just rights, in opposition to all invaders of his crown and dignity. Addresses of the same nature were sent up from all parts of the kingdom, and could not but be agreeable to William. He had now concerted measures for acting with vigour against France; and he resolved to revisit his kingdom, after having made a considerable progress in a treaty of perpetual alliance between England

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land and the States-general, which was afterwards brought to perfection by his plenipotentiary, the earl of Marlborough. The king's return, however, was delayed a whole month by a fevere indisposit, in, during which the Spanish minister De Quiros hired certain phyficians to confult together upon the state and nature of his distemper. They declared, that he could not live many weeks; and this opinion was transmitted to Ma-William, however, baffled the prognostic, though his conflitution had fuffained fuch a rude shock, that he himself perceived his end was near. He told the earl of Portland, he found himself so weak, that he could not expect to live another fummer: But charged him to conceal this circumstance until he should be dead. Notwithstanding this near approach to dissolution, he exerted himself with surprising diligence and spirit in establishing the confederacy, and settling the plan of operations. A fubfidiary-treaty was concluded with the king of Prussia, who engaged to furnish a certain number of troops. The emperor agreed to maintain ninety thousand men in the field against France: The proportion of the States was limited to one hundred and two thoufand: And that of England did not exceed forty thoufand, to act in conjunction with the allies.

§ LXII. On the fourth day of November the king arrived in England, which he found in a strange ferment, produced from the mutual animofity of the two factions. They reviled each other in words and writing with all the falfehood of calumny, and all the bitterness of rancour: So that truth, candor, and temperance, feemed to be banished by consent of both parties. The king had found himfelf deceived in his new ministers, who had opposed his measures with all their influence. He was particularly difgusted with the deportment of the earl of Rochester, who proved altogether imperious and untractable; and, instead of moderating, inflamed the violence of his party. The king declared, the year in which that nobleman directed his councils, was the uneasiest of his whole life. He could not help expressing his displeasure in such a coldness of reserve, that Row

chefter told him he would ferve his majesty no longer, fince he did not enjoy his confidence. William made no answer to this expostulation, but resolved he should fee him no more. The earl, however, at the defire of Mr. Harley, became more pliant and fubmissive; and after the king's departure for Holland, repaired to his government of Ireland, in which he now remained, exerting all his endeavours to acquire popularity. William forefeeing nothing but opposition from the present spirit of the house of commons, closeted some of their leaders, with a view to befpeak their compliance: But finding them determined to purfue their former principles, and to infift upon their impeachments, he refolved, with the advice of his friends, to diffolve the parliament. This step he was the more easily induced to take, as the commons were become extremely odious to the nation in general, which breathed nothing but war and defiance against the French monarch. parliament was accordingly diffolved by proclamation, and another summoned to meet on the thirtieth day of December.

& LXIII. Never did the two parties proceed with fuch heat and violence against each other, as in their endeavours to influence the new elections. The Whigs, however, obtained the victory, as they included the monied-interest; which will always prevail among the borough electors. Corruption was now reduced into an open and avowed commerce; and, had not the people been so universally venal and profligate, that no fense of shame remained, the victors must have blushed for their fuccess. Though the majority thus obtained was staunch to the measures of the court, the choice of the fpeaker fell upon Mr. Harley, contrary to the inclination of the king, who favoured fir Thomas Lyttelton: But his majesty's speech was received with universal applause. It was so much admired by the wellwishers to the revolution, that they printed it, with decorations, in the English, Dutch, and French languages. It appeared as a piece of furniture in all their houses, and as the king's last legacy to his own and all protestant people.

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people. In this celebrated harangue, he expatiated upon the indignity offered to the nation by the French king's acknowledging the pretended prince of Wales; he explained the dangers to which it was exposed, by his placing his grandfon on the throne of Spain: He gave them to understand he had concluded several alliances, according to the encouragement given him by both houses of parliament, which alliances should be laid before them, together with other treaties still depending. He observed, that the eyes of all Europe were upon this parliament; and all matters at a stand, until their resolution should be known; therefore, no time ought to be loft. He told them that they had yet an opportunity to secure for themselves and their posterity, the quiet enjoyment of their religion and liberties, if they were not wanting to themselves, but would exert the ancient vigour of the English nation; but he declared his opinion was, That should they neglect this occasion, they had no reason to hope for another. He said it would be necessary to maintain a great strength at lea, and a force on land proportionable to that of their allies. He pressed the commons to support the public credit, which could not be preferved without keeping facred that maxim, That they shall never be losers who trust to the parliamentary fecurity. He declared, that he never asked aids from his people without regret: That what he defired was for their own fafety and honour, at fuch a critical time; and that the whole should be appropriated to the purposes for which it was intended. He expressed his willingness that the accounts should be yearly submitted to the inspection of parliament. He again recommended dispatch, together with good bills for employing the poor, encouraging trade, and suppreffing vice. He expressed his hope that they were come together determined to avoid disputes and differences, and to act with a hearty concurrence for promoting the common cause. He said he should think it as great a bleffing as could befal England, if they were as much inclined to lay aside those unhappy fatal animolitics which divided and weakened them, as he was

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disposed to make all his subjects safe and easy, as to any. even the highest offences committed against his person. He conjured them to disappoint the hopes of their enemies by their unanimity. As he had always shown, and always would show, how defirous he was to be the common father of all his people, he defired they would lay aside parties and divisions, so as that no distinction should be heard of amongst them, but of those who were friends to the protestant religion and present establishment, and of those who wished for a popish prince and a French government. He concluded by affirming, that if they, in good earnest, defired to see England hold the balance of Europe, and be indeed at the head of the protestant interest, it would appear by their improving the present opportunity. The lords immediately drew up a warm and affectionate address, in which they expressed their resentment of the proceedings of the French king, in owning the pretended prince of Wales for king of England. They affured his majesty they would affift him to the utmost of their power against all his enemies: And when it should please God to deprive them of his majesty's protection, they would vigorously affift and defend against the pretended prince of Wales, and all other pretenders whatfoever, every perfon and persons who had right to succeed to the crown of England, by virtue of the acts of parliament for establishing and limiting the fuccession. On the fifth day of January an address to the same effect was presented by the commons; and both met with a very gracious reception from his majesty. The lords, as a further proof of their zeal, having taken into consideration the dangers that threatened Europe, from the accession of the duke of Anjou to the crown of Spain, drew up another address, explaining their fense of that danger; stigmatizing the French king as a violator of treaties; declaring their opinion, that his majesty, his subjects, and allies, could never be fafe and fecure until the house of Austria should be refored to their rights, and the invader of the Spanish monarchy brought to reason; and assuring his majesty that no time should be lost, nor any thing wanting on their

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parts which might answer the reasonable expectations of their friends abroad; not doubting but to support the reputation of the English name, when engaged under so great a prince, in the glorious cause of maintaining the

liberty of Europe.

& LXIV. The king, in order to acquire the confidence of the commons, ordered Mr. fecretary Vernon to lay before them copies of the treaties and conventions he had lately concluded; which were to well approved, that the house unanimously voted the supply. By another vote, they authorised the exchequer to borrow fix hundred thousand pounds at fix per cent. for the service of the fleet, and fifty thousand pounds for the sublistence of guards and garrifons. They deliberated upon the state of the navy, with the debt due upon it, and examined an estimate of what would be necessary for extraordinary repairs. They called for an account of that part of the national debt for which no provision had been made. They ordered the speaker to write to the trustees for the forfeited estates in Ireland, to attend the house with a full detail of their proceedings in the execution of that act of parliament. On the ninth day of January, they unanimously refolved, That leave be given to bring in a bill for fecuring his majesty's person and the fuccession of the crown in the protestant line; for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended prince of Wales, and all other pretenders, and their open and fecret abettors. They refolved to address his majesty, that he would infert an article in all his treaties of alliance, importing, That no peace should be made with France, until his majesty and the nation have reparation for the great indignity offered by the French king, in owning and declaring the pretended prince of Wales king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. They agreed to maintain forty thousand men for the sea service, and a like number by land, to act in conjunction with the forces of the allies, according to the proportions settled by the contracting powers. The supplies were raised by an imposition of four shillings in the pound upon lands, annuities, pensions, and stipends, and on the pro-

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fits arising from the different professions; by a tax of two and one-half per cent. on all stock in trade, and money at interest; of five shillings in the pound on all salaries, sees, and perquisites; a capitation tax of four shillings; an imposition of one per cent. on all shares in the capital stock of any corporation or company which should be bought, sold, or bargained for; a duty of sixpence per bushel on malt; and a further duty on mum,

cyder, and perry.

§ LXV. The commons seemed to vie with the lords in their zeal for the government. They brought in a bill for attainting the pretended prince of Wales; which being fent up to the other house, passed with an additional clause of attainder against the queen, who acted as regent for the pretender. This, however, was not carried without great opposition in the house of lords. When the bill was fent back to the commons, they excepted to the amendments as irregular. They observed, that attainders by bill constituted the most rigorous part of the law; and that the stretching of it ought to be avoided. They proposed that the queen should be attainted by a separate bill. The lords assented to the proposal; and the bill against the pretended prince of Wales passed. The lords passed another for attainting the queen; however, it was neglected in the house of commons. But the longest and warmest debates of this fession were produced by a bill, which the lords brought in, for abjuring the pretended prince of Wales, and fwearing to the king, by the title of rightful and lawful king, and his heirs, according to the Act of Settlement. It was proposed, that this oath should be voluntary, tendered to all persons, and their subscription or refusal recorded without any other penalty. This article was violently opposed by the earl of Nottingham, and other lords of the Tory interest. They observed, that the government was first settled with another oath, which was like an original contract: So that there was no occasion for a new imposition: That oaths relating to mens opinions had been always confidered as fevere impesitions; and that a voluntary oath was in its own

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nature unlawful. During these disputes, another bill of abjuration was brought into the house of commons by fir Charles Hedges, that should be obligatory on all persons who enjoyed employments in church or state; it likewife included an obligation to maintain the government in king, lords, and commons, and to maintain the church of England; together with the toleration for diffenters. Warm debates arose upon the question, Whether the oath should be imposed or voluntary; and at length it was carried for impolition, by the majority of one voice. They agreed to infert an additional clause, declaring it equally penal to compass or imagine the death of her royal highness the princess Anne of Denmark, as it was to compais or imagine the death of the king's eldeft fon and heir. In the house of peers this bill was strenuoully opposed by the Tories; and when, after long debates, it passed on the twenty-fourth day of February. ten lords entered a protest against it, as an unnecessary

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& LXVI. The whole nation now feemed to join in the cry for a war with France. Party heats began to abate: The factions in the city of London were in a great measure moderated by the union of the two companies trading to the East Indies, which found their mutual interest required a coalition. The Tories in the house of commons, having concurred so heartily with the inclinations of the people, refolved, as far as it lay in their power, to justify the conduct of their party in the preceding parliament. They complained of some petitions and addresses which had reflected upon the proceedings of the last house of commons, and particularly of the Kentish petition. The majority, however, determined, that it was the undoubted right of the people of England to petition or address the king for the calling, fitting, or disfolving of parliaments, and for the redreffing of grievances; and that every subject under any accusation, either by impeachment or otherwise, had a right to be brought to a speedy trial. A complaint being likewise made, that the lords had denied the commons justice in the matter of the late impeachments, Kk2

a furious debate enfued; and it was carried by a very small majority that justice had not been denied. In some points, however, they succeeded: In the case of a controverted election at Maidstone, between Thomas Blisse and Thomas Culpepper, the house resolved, That the latter had been not only guilty of corrupt, scandalous, and indirect practices, in endeavouring to procure himfelf to be elected a burgefs, but likewise, bring one of the instruments in promoting and presenting the scandalous, infolent, and feditious petition, commonly called the Kentish petition, to the last house of commons, was guilty of promoting a scandalous, villanous, and groundless reflection upon that house, by aspersing the members with receiving French money, or being in the interest of France; for which offence he was ordered to be committed to Newgate, and to be profecuted by his majesty's attorney-general. They also resolved, That to affert that the house of commons is not the only representative of the commons of England, tends to the subversion of the rights and privileges of the house of commons, and the fundamental constitution of the government of this kingdom: That to affert, that the house of commons have no power of commitment, but of their own members, tends to the subversion of the constitution of the house of commons: That to print or publish any books, or libels, reflecting upon the proceedings of the house of commons, or any member thereof, for or relating to his fervice therein, is a high violation of the rights and privileges of the house of commons. Notwithstanding these transactions, they did not neglect the vigorous profecution of the war. They addressed his majesty to interpose with his allies, that they might increase their quotas of land-forces to be put on board the fleet, in proportion to the numbers his majefty should embark. When they had fettled the fums appropriated to the feveral uses of the war, they presented a second address, desiring he would provide for the half-pay officers in the first place, in the recruits and levies to be made. The king affured them, it was always his intention to provide for those officers. He went to the house of peers, and gave the royal

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royal affent to an act, appointing commissioners to take, examine, and determine the debts due to the army, navy, and the transport service; and also to take an account of

prizes taken during the war.

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& LXVII. The affairs of Ireland were not a little embarrassed by the conduct of the trustees appointed to take cognizance of the forfeited estates. Their office was extremely odious to the people as well as to the court, and their deportment was arbitrary and imperious. Several individuals of that kingdom, provoked by the insolence of the trustees, on one hand, and encouraged by the countenance of the courtiers on the other. endeavoured, by a circular letter, to spirit up the grand jury of Ireland against the act of resumption: Petitions were presented to the king, couched in very strong terms, affirming, that it was injurious to the protestant interest, and had been obtained by gross misinformations. The king having communicated these addresses to the house, they were immediately voted fcandalous, false, and groundless: And the commons resolved, That notwithstanding the complaints and clamours against the trustees, it did not appear to the house but those complaints were groundless: Nevertheless, they afterwards received several petitions, imploring relief against the said act; and they ordered that the petitioners should be relieved accordingly. Propofals were delivered in for incorporating fuch as should purchase the said forfeitures, on certain terms therein specified, according to the rent-roll, when verified and made good to the purchasers: But; whereas in this rent-roll the value of the estates had been estimated at fomething more than feven hundred-and-fixteen thousand po nds, those who undertook to make the purchase affirmed they were not worth five hundred thousand pounds; and thus the affair remained in fus-

§ LXVIII. With respect to Scotland, the clamours of that kingdom had not yet subsided. When the bill of abjuration passed in the house of peers, the earl of Nottingham had declared, that although he differed in opinion from the majority in many particulars relating to

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that bill, vet he was a friend to the design of it; and, in order to secure a protestant succession, he thought an union of the whole ifland was absolutely necessary. He therefore moved for an address to the king, that he would disfolve the parliament of Scotland now sitting, as the legality of it might be called in question, on account of its having been originally a convention; and that a new parliament should be summoned, that they might treat about an union of the two kingdoms. The king had this affair so much at heart, that even when he was difabled from going to the parliament in person, he fent a letter to the commons, expressing an eager defire that a treaty for this purpose might be let on foot, and earnestly recommending this affair to the confideration of the house: But as a new parliament in Scotland could not be called without a great rifque, while the nation was in fuch a ferment, the project was postponed to a more fa-

vourable opportunity.

§ LXIX. Before the king's return from Holland he had concerted with his allies the operations of the enfuing campaign. He had engaged in a negociation with the prince of Heffe d'Armstadt, who affured him, that if he would befiege and take Cadiz, the admiral of Castile, and divers other grandees of Spain, would declare for the house of Austria. The allies had also determined upon the fiege of Keyferswaert, which the elector of Cologn had delivered into the hands of the French: The elector of Hanover had refolved to difarm the princes of Wolfenbuttle: The king of the Romans and prince Louis of Baden undertook to invest Landau: And the emperor promifed to fend a powerful reinforcement to prince Eugene in Italy: But William did not live to fee these schemes put in execution. His constitution was by this time almost exhausted, though he endeavoured to conceal the effects of his malady, and to repair his health by exercise. On the twenty-first day of February, in riding to Hampton-court from Kenfington, his horse fell under him, and he himself was thrown upon the ground with fuch violence, as produced a fracture in his collarbone. His attendants conveyed him to the palace of Hampton-

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Hampton-court, where the fracture was reduced by Ronjat, his serjeant-surgeon. In the evening he returned to Kensington in his coach, and the two ends of the fractured bone having been disunited by the jolting of the carriage, were replaced under the inspection of Bidloo, his physician. He seemed to be in a fair way of recovering till the first day of March, when his knee appeared to be instanced, with great pain and weakness. Next day he granted a commission under the great seal to several peers, for passing the bills to which both houses of parliament had agreed, namely, the act of attainder against the pretended prince of Wales; and another in favour of the Quakers, enacting, That their solemn affirmation and declaration should be accepted instead of an oath in the usual form.

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& LXX. On the fourth day of March the king was fo well recovered of his lameness, that he took several turns in the gallery at Kensington; but sitting down on a couch, where he fell afleep, he was feized with a shivering, which terminated in a fever and diarrhæa. He was attended by fir Thomas Millington, fir Richard Blackmore, fir Theodore Colledon, Dr. Bidloo, and other eminent physicions; but their prescriptions proved ineffectual. On the fixth he granted another commission for pailing the bill for the malt-tax, and the act of abjuration; and being so weak that he could not write his name, he, in the presence of the lord-keeper and the clerks of parliament, applied a stamp prepared for the purpose. The earl of Albemarle arriving from Holland, conferred with him in private on the posture of affairs abroad: But he received his informations with great coldness, and said, " Je tire vers ma fin.- I approach "the end of my life." In the evening he thanked Dr. Bidloo for his care and tenderness, saying, "I know "that you and the other learned physicians have done " all that your art can do for my relief; but finding all " means ineffectual, I submit." He received spiritual consolation from archbishop Tenison, and Burnet, bishop of Salisbury. On Sunday morning the facrament was administered to him. The lords of the privy-coun-

cil and divers noblemen attended in the adjoining apartments; and to some of them who were admitted he spoke a little. He thanked lord Auverquerque for his long and faithful fervices: He delivered to lord Albemarle the keys of his closet and scrutoire, telling him, he knew what to do with them. He enquired for the earl of Portland; but, being speechless before that nobleman arrived, he grasped his hand, and laid it to his heart, with marks of the most tender affection. On the eighth day of March he expired, in the fifty-fecond year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years. The lords Lexington and Scarborough, who were in waiting, no fooner perceived the king was dead, than they ordered Ronjat to untie from his left arm a black ribbon, to which was affixed a ring, containing fome hair of the late queen Mary. The body being opened and embalmed, lay in state for some time at Kensington; and on the twelfth day of April was deposited in a vault of Henry's chapel in Westminster-abbey. In the beginning of May a will, which he had entrufted with monfieur Schuylemberg, was opened at the Hague. In this he had declared his coulin, prince Frison of Nassau, stadtholder of Friesland, his fole and universal heir, and appointed the States-General his executors. By a codicil annexed, he had bequeathed the lordship of Breevert. and a legacy of two hundred thousand guilders, to the earl of Albemarle.

§ LXXI. William III. was in his person of the middle stature, a thin body, a delicate constitution, subject to an asthma and continual cough from his infancy. He had an aquiline nose, sparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave solemn aspect. He was very sparing of speech: His conversation was dry, and his manner disgusting; except in battle, when his deportment was free, spirited, and animating. In courage, fortitude, and equanimity, he rivalled the most eminent warriors of antiquity; and his natural sagacity made amends for the defects in his education, which had not been properly superintended. He was religious, temperate, generally just and sincere, a stranger to violent transports of passion;

PARSONS'S GENUINE EDITION OF SMOLLETT'S ENGLAND.



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sion; and might have passed for one of the best princes of the age in which he lived, had he never ascended the throne of Great Britain. But the diffinguishing criterion of his character was ambition. To this he facrificed the punctilios of honour and decorum, in deposing his own father-in-law and uncle; and this he gratified at the expence of the nation that raifed him to foveregin authority. He aspired to the honour of acting as umpire in all the contests of Europe; and the second object of his attention was, the prosperity of that country to which he owed his birth and extraction. Whether he really thought the interests of the continent and Great Britain were inseparable, or fought only to drag England into the confederacy as a convenient ally, certain it is he involved these kingdoms in foreign connections, which, in all probability, will be productive of their ruin. In order to establish this favourite point, he scrupled not to employ all the engines of corruption, by which the morals of the nation were totally debauched. He procured a parliamentary fauction for a standing army; which now feems to be interwoven in the constitution. He introduced the pernicious practice of horrowing upon remote funds: An expedient that necessarily hatched a brood of usurers, brokers, contractors, and stock-jobbers, to prey upon the vitals of their country. He entailed upon the nation a growing debt, and a system of politics big with mifery, despair, and destruction. To sum up his character in a few words: - William was a fatalist in religion, indefatigable in war, enterprifing in politics, dead to all the warm and generous emotions of the human heart, a cold relation, an indifferent husband, a difagreeable man, an ungracious prince, and an imperious fovereign.

Can't and might have pelied for one of the best princes of its given will be great had be never after the the see of the an Britage. But the diffraguilities crimien the course of an entrance of To this he farmined the go at height honour and decours, in depoing his own equivalent and unite, and this he gratified at the expende of the narra that raised have to foreteen authoray. De alpacet to the percoured adding as umpire to and the sounded blances out thes ; seemed to allege out the at cotton or as the profice is of that cotton we write he great to both and Exaction. Whence he really enough the interests of the conferent and Careat Mutain each boulgn't gods or vice difficulties are displaced for the confict states as a commentary, cares it is retire roused their shirt gloins in foreign councellors, which, in of probability, will be productive of their rum. The or the heliquest all troing strauning and alkhibis of inthe employ all the engineers corruptions by which the mobashoong off bashasateb vising energy mittee and belong Wor hard water garbank way had been survey which now bears to be international in the confinement. He introwhich and premisers produce of histograms upon temore to board a hydraud wind sees that some product is broad of you are the second contractions, and that spots of property plants the engle of the country. He calculated upon the rision god anishing to anally a bear arising you work y not o and an am of more and a construction of the same some in a few orders, -- Available was a familia so seehybron code letter la war, enterprished in per ness dead natural, adv. in turns our automorphise triner and liver pour, a rold relation of incorner habited, a difconsent as the course product and an imperson and the second of the second o Charles and the second second

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FIRST VOLUME, Anna lawa a car, kosu an ora vena ban har es ca percelant.

right of alcanes the confirming therefore, or or device. NOTE [A], p. 7.

THIS expedient was attended with an unfurmountable absurdity. If the majority of the convention could not grant a legal fanction to the establishment they had made, they could never invest the prince of Orange with a just right to ascend the throne; for they could not give what they had no right to bestow; and if he ascended the throne without a just title, he could have no right to fanctify that affembly to which he owed his elevation. When the people are obliged, by tyranny or other accidents, to have recourse to the first principles of society, namely, their own preservation, in electing a new sovereign, it will deserve consideration, whether that choice is to be effected by the majority of a parliament which has been dissolved (indeed by any parliament whatsoever) or by the body of the nation affembled in communities, corporations, by tribes, or centuries, to fignify their affent or diffent with respect to the person proposed as their fovereign. This kind of election might be attended with great inconvenience and difficulty; but these cannot possibly be avoided when the constitution is disfolved by ferting afide the lineal fuccession to the throne. The constitution of England is founded on a parliament confifting of king, lords, and commons; but when there is no longer a king, the parliament is defective, and the constitution is impaired. The members of the lower house are the representatives of the people, expressly chosen to maintain the constitution in church and state, and fworn to support the rights of the crown as well as the liberties of the nation; But though they are elected

to maintain, they have no power to alter the constitution. When the king forfeits the allegiance of his subjects, and it becomes necessary to dethrone him, the power of so doing cannot possibly reside in the representatives who are chosen, under certain limitations, for the purposes of a legislature which no longer exists: Their power is of course at an end, and they are reduced to a level with other individuals that conflitute the community. The right of altering the constitution, therefore, or of deviating from the established practice of inheritance in regard to the fuccession of the crown, is inherent in the body of the people; and every individual has an equal right to his share in the general determination, whether his opinion be fignified viva voce, or by a representative whom he appoints or instructs for that purpose. It may be suggested, that the prince of Orange was raised to the throne without any convultion, or any fuch difficulties and inconveniencies as we have affirmed to be the necessary consequence of a measure of that nature. To this remark we answer. That fince the revolution these kingdoms have been divided and harraffed by violent and implacable factions, that eagerly feek the destruction of each other: That they have been exposed to plots, conspiracies, insurrections, civil wars, and successive rebellions, which have not been defeated and quelled without vast effusion of blood, infinite mischief, calamity, and expence to the nation: That they are still subjected to all those alarms and dangers which are engendered by a disputed title to the throne, and the efforts of an artful pretender: That they are necessarily wedded to the affairs of the continent, and their interest facrificed to foreign connexions, from which they can never be difengaged. Perhaps all these calamities might have been prevented by the interpolition of the prince of Orange. King James, without forfeiting the crown, might have been laid under fuch restrictions that it would not have been in his power to tyrannize over his subjects either in spirituals or temporals. The power of the militia might have been vested in the two houses of parliament, as well as the nomination of persons to fill the great offices of church

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church and state, and superintend the economy of the administration in the application of the public money: A law might have passed for annual parliaments, and the king might have been deprived of his power to convoke, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve them at his pleasure. Had these measures been taken, the king must have been absolutely disabled from employing either force or corruption in the prosecution of arbitrary designs, and the people must have been fairly represented in a rotation of parliaments, whose power and influence would have been but of one year's duration.

NOTE [B], p. 10.

THE new form of the coronation-oath confifted in the following questions and answers:—" Will you so" lemnly promise and swear to govern the people of this
kingdom of England, and the dominions thereto belonging, according to the statutes in parliament agreed
on, and the laws and customs of the same?"

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"Will you, to your power, cause law and justice, in mercy, to be executed in all your judgments?" 'I will.'—"Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and the protestant reformed religion as by law tstablished? And will you preserve unto the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law do or shall appertain unto them, or any of them?"

' All this I promise to do.'

Then the king or queen, laying his or ner hand upon the gospels, shall say, "The things which I have here before promised, I will perform and keep. So help me God."

NOTE [C], p. 34.

JAMES, in this expedition, was attended by the duke of Berwick, and by his brother Mr. Fitzjames, grand L1

prior, the duke of Powis; the earls of Dover, Melford, Abercorn, and Seaforth; the lords Henry and Thomas Howard, the lords Drummond, Dungan, Trendraught, Buchan, Hunsdon, and Brittas; the bishops of Chester and Galway, the late lord chief-justice Herbert; the marquis d'Estrades, M. de Rosne, mareschal de Camp; Mamoe, Pufignan, and Lori, lieutenant-generals; Prontee, engineer-general; the marquis d'Albeville; fir John Sparrow, fir Roger Strictland, fir William Jennings, fir Henry Bond, fir Charles Carney, fir Edward Vaudrey, fir Charles Murray, fir Robert Parker, fir Alphonfo Maiolo, fir Samuel Foxon, and fir William Wallis; by the colonels Porter, Sarsfield, Anthony and John Hamilton, Simon and Henry Luttrel, Ramfay, Dorrington, Sutherland, Clifford, Parker, Purcel, Cannon, and Fielding; with about two-and-twenty other officers of inferior rank,

NOTE [D], p. 57.

THE franchifes were privileges of afylum, annexed not only to the ambassadors at Rome, but even to the whole diffrict in which any ambaffador chanced to live. This privilege was become a terrible nuisance, inasmuch as it afforded protection to the most atrocious criminals, who filled the city with rapine and murther. Innocent XI. resolving to remove this evil, published a bull, abolishing the franchises; and almost all the catholic powers of Europe acquiesced in what he had done, upon being duly informed of the grievance. Louis XIV. however, from a spirit of pride and insolence, refused to part with any thing that looked like a prerogative of his crown. He faid, the king of France was not the imitator, but a pattern and example for other princes. He rejected with disdain the mild representations of the pope; he sent the marquis de Lavarden as his ambassador to Rome, with a formidable train, to infult Innocent even in his own city. That nobleman fwaggered through the streets of Rome like a bravo, taking all opportunities to affront

affront the pope; who excommunicated him in revenge. On the other hand, the parliament of Paris appealed from the pope's bull to a future council. Louis caused the pope's nuncio to be put under arrest; took possession of Avignon, which belonged to the fee of Rome; and fet the holy father at defiance.

NOTE [E], p. 76.

THE following persons were excepted from the benefit of this act: - William, marquis of Powis; Theophilus, earl of Huntingdon; Robert, earl of Sunderland; John, earl of Melfort; Roger, earl of Castlemain; Nathaniel, lord bishop of Durham; Thomas, lord bishop of St. David; Henry, lord Dover; lord Thomas Howard; fir Edward Hales, fir Francis Withers, fir Edward Lutwych, fir Thomas Jenner, fir Nicholas Butler, fir William Herbert, fir Richard Holloway, fir Richard Heath, fir Roger L'Estrange; William Molineux, Thomas Tyndesley; colonel Townly, colonel Lundy; Robert Brent, Edward Morgan, Philip Burton, Richard Graham, Edward Petre, Obadiah Walker, Matthew Crone, and George lord Jefferies, deceafed.

NOTE [F], p. 96,

THIS supply was raised by the additional duties upon beer, ale, and other liquors. They also provided in the bill, that the impositions on wines, vinegar, and tobacco, should be made a fund of credit: That the furplus of the grants they had made, after the current fervice was provided for, should be applicable to the payment of the debts contracted by the war: And, That it should be lawful for their majesties to make use of five hundred thousand pounds out of the faid grants, on condition of that fum being repaid from the revenue.——Ralph. The law transfer of the best of

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NOTE [G], p. 103.

TO one of the pamphlets published on this occasion is annexed a petition to the present government, in the name of king James's adherents, importing, That some grave and learned person should be authorised to compile a treatise, showing the grounds of William's title; and declaring, that in case the performance should carry conviction along with it, they would submit to that title, as they hitherto opposed it from a principle of conscience. The best answer that could be made to this summons, was Locke's book upon government, which appeared at this period.—Ralph.

Note [H], p. 109.

PRINCE Eugene, of Savoy, who, in the fequel, rivalled the fame of the greatest warriors of antiquity, was descended on the father's side from the house of Savoy, and on the mother's from the family of Soissons, a branch of the house of Bourbon. His father was Eugene Maurice of Savoy, count of Soissons, colonel of the Switzers, and governor of Champagne and Brie: His mother was the celebrated Olympia de Mancini, niece of cardinal Mazarine. Prince Eugene, finding himself neglected at the court of France, engaged as a soldier of fortune in the service of the emperor, and soon distinguished himself by his great military talents: He was, moreover, an accomplished gentleman, learned, liberal, mild, and courteous; an unshaken friend, a generous enemy, an invincible captain, and a consummate politician.

NOTE [I], p. 127.

THE laws enacted in this session were these: An act for abrogating the oath of supremacy in Ireland, and appointing

NOTES TO THE FIRST VOLUME. 401

appointing other oaths—An act for taking away clergy from some offenders, and bringing others to punishment—An act against deer-stealing—An act for repairing the highways, and settling the rates of carriage of goods—An act for the relief of creditors against fraudulent devices—An act for explaining and supplying the defects of former laws for the settlement of the poor—An act for the encouragement of the breeding and feeding of cattle—And an act for ascertaining the tithes of hemp and flax.

NOTE [K], p. 127.

IN the course of this session, Dr. Welwood, a Scottish physician, was taken into custody, and reprimanded at the bar of the house of commons, for having reflected upon that house, in a weekly paper intitled, Mercurius Reformatus; but, as it was written in defence of the government, the king appointed him one of his physicians in ordinary. At this period, Charles Montagu, afterwards earl of Hallifax, distinguished himself in the house of commons by his fine talents and eloquence. The privy-feal was committed to the earl of Pembroke; lord viscount Sidney was created lord lieutenant of Ireland; fir John Somers appointed attorney-general; and the fee of Lincoln, vacant by the death of Barlow, conferred upon Dr. Thomas Tennison, who had been recommended to the king as a divine remarkable for his piety

NOTE [L], p. 135.

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THOSE excepted were the duke of Ormond, the marquis of Winchester; the earls of Sunderland, Bath, Danby, and Nottingham; the lords Newport, Delamere, Wiltshire, Colchester, Cornbury, Dunblain, and Churchill; the bishops of London and St. Asaph; sir Robert Howard, sir John Worden, sir Samuel Grimstone, sir Ll 3

402 NOTES TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

Stephen Fox, fir George Treby, fir Basil Dixwell, sir James Oxden; Dr. John Tillotson, Dr. Gilbert Burnet; Francis Russell, Richard Levison, John Trenchard, Charles Duncomb, citizens of London; Edwards, Stapleton, and Hunt, sishermen, and all others who had offered personal indignities to him at Feversham, or had been concerned in the barbarous murther of John Ashton, Cross, or any other who had suffered death for their loyalty; and all spies, or such as had betrayed his council during his late absence from England.

NOTE [M], p. 169.

THE other laws made in this fession were those that follow :- An act for preventing fuits against such as had acted for their majesty's service in defence of this kingdom-An act for raising the militia in the year 1693-An act authorifing the judges to empower fuch persons, other than common attornies and folicitors, as they should think fit, to take special bail, except in London, Westminster, and ten miles round-An act to encourage the apprehending of highwaymen-An act for preventing clandeltine marriages-An act for the regaining, encouraging, and fettling the Greenland trade-An act to prevent malicious informations in the court of king's bench, and for the more easy reversal of outlawries in that court-An act for the better discovery of judgments in the courts of law-An act for delivering declarations to prisoners for debt-An act for regulating proceeding in the crown-office-An act for the more easy discovery and conviction of such as should destroy the game of this kingdom-And an act for continuing the acts for prohibiting all trade and commerce with France, and for the encouragement of privateers. as of Whitefart, The carls of Sundefland, Both,

NOTE [N], p. 197.

BESIDES the bills already mentioned, the parliament

in this session passed an act for taking and stating the public accounts—Another to encourage ship-building—A third for the better disciplining the navy—The usual militia act—And an act enabling his majesty to make grants and leases in the duchy of Cornwall. One was also passed for renewing a clause in an old statute, limiting the number of justices of the peace in the principality of Wales. The duke of Norfolk brought an action in the court of king's bench against Mr. Germaine, for criminal conversation with his duchess. The cause was tried, and the jury brought in their verdict for one hundred marks, and costs of suit, in favour of the plaintiff.

Before the king embarked, he gratified a good number of his friends with promotions. Lord Charles Butler, brother to the duke of Ormond, was created lord Butler of Weston in England, and earl of Arran in Ireland: The earl of Shrewsbury was honoured with the title of duke: The earl of Mulgrave, being reconciled to the court measures, was gratified with a pension of three thousand pounds, with the title of marquis of Normanby: Henry Herbert was ennobled by the title of baron Herbert of Cherbury: The earls of Bedford, Devonshire, and Clare, were promoted to the rank of dukes: The marquis of Caermarthen was made duke of Leeds: Lord viscount Sidney, created earl of Romney: And vifcount Newport, earl of Bedford. Ruffel was advanced to the head of the admiralty-board: Sir George Rooke and fir John Houblon were appointed joint-commiffioners, in the room of Killegrew and Delaval: Charles Montagu was made chancellor of the exchequer: And fir William Trumbal and John Smith commissioners of the treasury, in the room of fir Edward Seymour and Mr. Hambden.

NOTE [P], p. 207.

THE queen's obsequies were performed with great magnificence. The body was attended from Whitehall to Westminster-abbey by all the judges, serjeants at law,

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the lord-mayor and aldermen of the city of London, and both houses of parliament; and the funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Tennison, archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. Kenn, the deprived bishop of Bath and Wells, reproached him in a letter, for not having called upon her majeffy on her death-bed to repent of the share she had in the revolution. This was answered by another pamphlet. One of the Jacobite clergy infulted the queen's memory, by preaching on the following text: "Go now, fee this curfed woman, and bury her, for the is a king's daughter." On the other hand, the lordmayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, came to a refolution to erect her statue, with that of the king, in the Royal Exchange. the of his trientist with an of

- NOTE [Q], p. 217. silvedure beaponed aste vices

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IN the course of this fession, the lords had enquired into the particulars of the Mediterranean expedition, and presented an address to the king, declaring, that the fleet in those seas had conduced to the honour and advantage of the nation. On the other hand, the commons, in an address, befought his majesty to take care that the kingdom might be put on an equal footing and proportion with the allies, in defraying the expence of the war.

The coin of the kingdom being greatly diminished and adulterated, the earls of Rochester and Notringham expatiated upon this national evil in the house of lords: An act was paffed, containing feverer penalties against clippers; but this produced no good effect. The value of money funk in the exchange to fuch a degree, that a guinea was reckoned adequate to thirty shillings; and this public disgrace lowered the credit of the funds and of the government. The nation was alarmed by the circulation of fictitious wealth, instead of gold and filver, fuch as bank-bills, exchequer-tallies, and governmentfecurities. The malcontents took this opportunity to exclaim against the bank, and even attempted to shake the credit of it in parliament: But their endeavours

proved abortive: The monied interest preponderated in both houses.

Note [R], p. 217.

THE regency was composed of the archbishop of Canterbury; Somers, lord-keeper of the great feal; the earl of Pembroke, lord-privy-scal; the duke of Devonshire, lord-steward of the household; the duke of Shrewsbury, secretary of state; the earl of Dorset, lordchamberlain; and the lord Godolphin, first commissioner of the treasury. Sir John Trenchard dying, his place of fecretary was filled with fir William Trumbal, an eminent civilian, learned, diligent, and virtuous, who had been envoy at Paris and Constantinople. William Nasfaw de Zuylestein, son of the king's natural uncle, was created baron of Enfield, viscount Tunbridge, and earl of Rochford. Ford, lord Grey of Werke, was made viscount Glendate, and earl of Tankerville. The month of April of this year was diftinguished by the death of the famous George Saville, marquis of Hallifax, who had furvived, in a good measure, his talents and reputation.

NOTE [S], p. 250.

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THE commons resolved, That a sund redeemable by parliament be settled in a national land-bank, to be raised by new subscriptions: That no person be concerned in both banks at the same time: That the duties upon coals, culm, and tonnage of ships be taken off, from the seventeenth day of March: That the sum of two millions sive hundred and sixty-sour thousand pounds be raised on this perpetual sund, redeemable by parliament: That the new bank should be restrained from lending money but upon land securities, or to the government in the exchequer: That for making up the fund of interest for the capital stock, certain duties upon glass wares, stone and earthen bottles, granted before to the

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the king for a term of years, be continued to his majesty, his heirs, and successors: That a further duty be laid upon stone and earthen ware, and another upon tobaccopipes. This bank was to lend out five hundred thousand pounds a year upon land securities, at three pounds ten shillings per cent. per annum, and to cease and determine, unless the subscription should be full, by the first

day of August next ensuing.

The most remarkable laws enacted in this session were these: An act for voiding all the elections of parliament-men, at which the elected had been at any expence in meat, drink, or money, to procure votes: Another against unlawful and double returns: A third, for the more easy recovery of small tithes: A fourth to prevent marriages, without licence or banns : A fifth, for enabling the inhabitants of Wales to dispose of all their personal estates as they should think fit: This law was in bar of custom that had prevailed in that country: The widows and younger children claimed a share of the effects, called their Reasonable Part, although the effects had been otherwise disposed of by will or deed. The parliament likewise passed an act, for preventing the exportation of wool, and encouraging the importation thereof from Ireland: An act for encouraging the linen manufactures of Ireland: An act for regulating juries. An act for encouraging the Greenland trade: An act of indulgence to the quakers, that their folemn affirmation should be accepted instead of an oath: And an act for continuing certain other acts that were near expiring. Another bill had paffed for the better regulating elections for members of parliament; but the royal affent was denied. The question was put in the house of commons, That whoever advised his majesty not to give his assent to that bill, was an enemy to his country; but it was rejected by a great majority. pachaments. That the new

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NOTE [T], p. 320.

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ABOUT the latter end of March the earl of Warwick and lord Mohun were tried by their peers in Westminster-hall, for the murder of captain Richard Coote, who had been killed in a midnight combat of three on each side. Warwick was found guilty of manslaughter, and Mohun acquitted.

Villers, earl of Jersey, who had been sent ambassador to France, was appointed secretary of state, in the room of the duke of Shrewsbury. This nobleman was created lord-chamberlain: The earl of Manchester was sent ambassador extraordinary to France: The earl of Pembroke was declared lord-president of the council: And lord viscount Lonsdale, keeper of the privy-seal.

NOTE [U], p. 349.

THIS year was distinguished by a glorious victory which the young king of Sweden obtained in the nineteenth year of his age. Riga continued invested by the king of Poland, while Peter the czar of Muscovy made his approaches to Narva, at the head of a prodigious army, purposing, in violation of all faith and justice, to share the spoils of the youthful monarch. Charles landed at Revel, compelled the Saxons to abandon the fiege of Riga, and having supplied the place, marched with a handful of troops against the Muscovites, who had undertaken the fiege of Narva. The czar quitted his army with some precipitation, as if he had been afraid of hazarding his person, while Charles advanced through ways that were thought impracticable, and furprised the enemy. He broke into their camp before they had the least intimation of his approach, and totally routed them, after a short refistance. He took a great number of prisoners, with all their baggage, tents, and artillery, and entered Narva in triumph. NOTE

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NOTE [X], p. 359.

IN the course of this debate, the earl of Rochester reprehended fome lords for speaking disrespectfully of the French king; observing, that it was peculiarly incumbent on peers to treat monarchs with decorum and respect, as they derived their dignity from the crown, Another affirming, that the French king was not only to be respected but likewise to be feared, -a certain lord replied, "He hoped no man in England need to be afraid of the French king, much less the peer who " spoke last, who was too much a friend to that mo-" narch to fear any thing from his resentment."

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